

CAPITALIST'S VIEW OF SOCIALISM

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

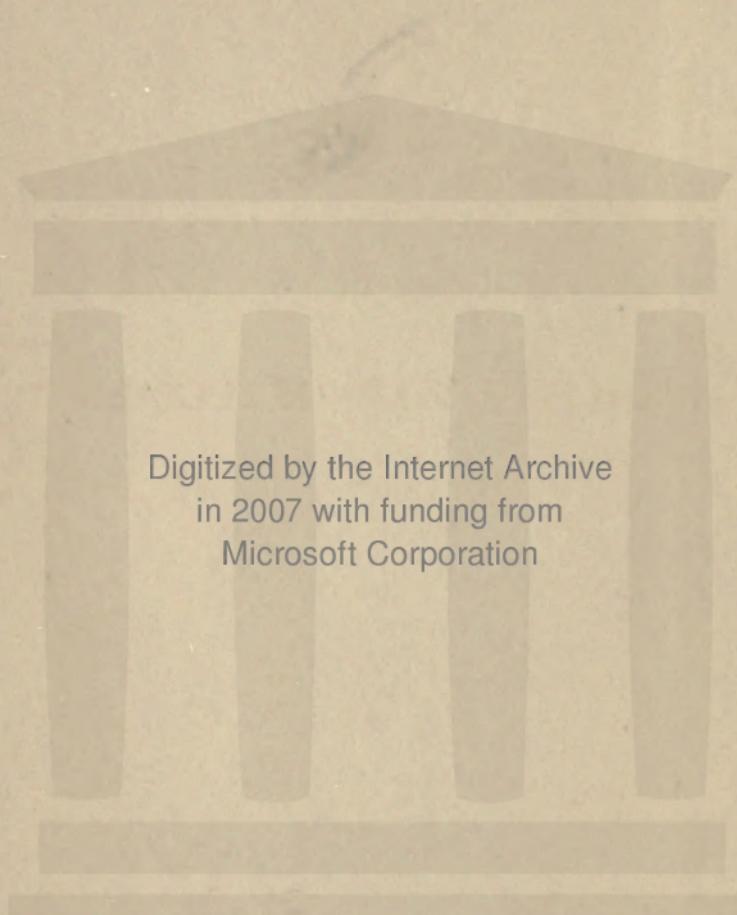


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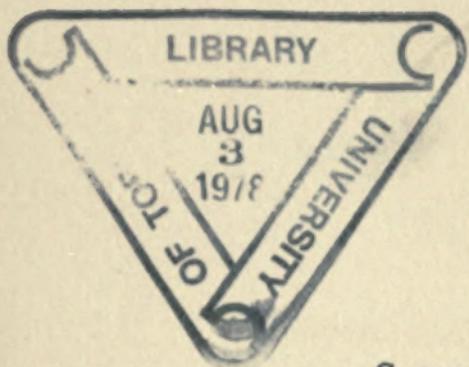
A CAPITALIST'S VIEW OF SOCIALISM

A CAPITALIST'S VIEW OF SOCIALISM

THE AUTHOR OF
“FROM BOYHOOD TO MANHOOD”

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
BENJAMIN PAUL BLOOD

NEW YORK
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*“For the cause that lacks assistance,
For the wrongs that need resistance,
For the future in the distance,
For the good that I can do.”*

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INTRODUCTION

AN “introduction” of course: not wholly as a concession to good form, but as an ensign, or an advance guard. The Hero shall have his herald—his heroship may not be quite self-evident. The Nation wears its flag, as the savage wears his feather and his beads; the State has its coat of arms, and every Association has its motto, as a *raison d'être*. The vignette of the present monogram shall be a little picture—I call it

A Poor Home.

The Reader has seen such?—weeds in the dooryard—the gate on one hinge—a pane broken in the window; within, a woman lean and worked out, “bone-weary, many-childed, trouble-tried” (as Ebenezer Elliott described *his wife!*), with maybe on the mantel one poor little geranium in a broken pot, to link her still to the world of beauty and the hope

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of glory. In such a home, by a bare table on a naked floor, a Workingman leans his head upon his hand. Beside him a young girl, barefooted and thinly clad, calls his attention with her hand upon his knee:

“Papa!”

“What is it, Nellie?”

“Papa, why don’t you work—’n Nellie wants shoes, ’n Mamma needs her medicine?”

Why doesn’t he work! not, why doesn’t he play, or go to the ball game, or the movies; for this Man, in the agonism of a helpless paternity, there is not even “the curse of service.”

This in the twentieth century of Christianity, and the seventieth of “civilization,” when greed and selfishness have achieved a superabundance of production, yet when even the best good will is powerless for legitimate distribution! Powerless simply.

The Author of this book speaks for a class (and I realize that it is the habit of gentlemen

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to believe one another) when he says that Capital as such—even as its own best policy—would cheerfully alleviate the stress of poverty and unemployment, *if it only knew how*. Even taxation is not yet a science. Assume that it were wise and patriotic for the Government to give general employment by internal improvement and ornamentation, to be sustained by a tax upon income and inheritance; nevertheless an astute legislator recently said: “Show me any law that involves the taxation of a mortgage or a bond and I will drive a yoke of oxen through it.”

Charity must become a *science*, or it will henceforth, as heretofore, be worse than futile; it will but foster idleness and vice. The capitalist who has earned, not inherited, his wealth—the man who knows what success is made of—the man of means and ends, of the *quid pro quo* and the “square deal,” has learned that the most efficient method of lightening a burden is to stiffen the back that

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bears it. The problem of philanthropy has grown with the race. Once the Master could well say, "Give to him that asketh!" and He himself "went about doing good." His was the day of the sickle and the wooden plow; ours is the day of the twine binder and the gasoline gang. We can fly and we can dive, *ad libitum*, but we cannot thwart the cohesive power of organized graft. The luxurious quarters of all our missionary effort show that with our most exacting measurement some of the syrup will adhere to the mug.

The British Government freely furnished sufficient food to have at least beneficently qualified the famine in India, but the words of Lord Clive came true, that "east of Suez the sentiment of personal honor is unknown." Hinted threats of crucifixion and even of burning alive failed to coerce the thieving native agents to deliver the bounty to the mouths for which it was intended. Can we wonder then that, when some canting charity ap-

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proaches a practical capitalist with a prospectus guarantying to furnish "one copy of the sacred Scriptures, one flannel shirt and one hairbrush to every heathen of Borio-boola-gha, one of the Foo-foo islands," his answer is, "Nothing doing!"?

At a time when Capitalism is openly reproached as an exploitation of Labor, back into which it should be resolved and integrated at the expense of individual ambition, initiative and comprehensive genius; when vulgar equality and fraternity are rated above aesthetic excellence and distinction, as if man could live by bread alone, this brief treatise is obviously issued as a protest against what is deemed and exalted as the "ideal" of Socialism—but which the author regards rather as an inconsequent dream that does not realize its own meaning—and also as a defence of the Capitalist class from objurgations born of prejudice and ignorant inexperience.

The Author is a Capitalist easy enough—

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some think a multi-capitalist—but he regards his personal identity as irrelevant at this time; and at best it could but abet the manifest assurance that this book is cordially intended to do some good. He is known to have had more and other than the common experience, and to have felt the rounds of its ladder at both ends; and now, when “the westering pathos glooms the fervent hours,” he feels it just and becoming to give as has been given him, with no more pretension than has come from a rather voluminous and miscellaneous correspondence. The author does not pose as a highbrow (whatever that may be); he regards himself simply as a *Capitalist*; but to the judicious, who can read between the lines—to the expert who can forecast the impact of a missile by the height it falls from—there will appear in these leisurely pages a generous spirit which prosperity could never spoil, and a native force and sagacity which, unwearyed by the strenuous life, react and

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overflow for the good of humanity with the world-wisdom which has been at once the growth and the secret of a phenomenal success. These pages are mighty good reading, even in the present times, to those who are advised as to the war which, like the poor, is "always with us," and is only overshadowed for the moment by the belligerent headlines in the latest version of the same old type of Social Discontent.

BENJ. PAUL BLOOD.

A FOREWORD

IN WRITING this book I have been impressed with the sinister and persistent heterogeneity of the race. We are homogeneous in one sense: that there is a kind of king enthroned within each individual. We may call this his self-interest. Socialism is ostensibly attempting to bring forth out of this heterogeneous mass a homogeneous birth, while still contending that labor and capital have nothing in common. She has neglected, and is neglecting, the most important maieutic preparation. Not only is this important, but it is vital; without it a still birth is inevitable.

I have introduced myself to the philosophers (I do not claim an acquaintance with them), and have read and heard enough to convince me that Sociology is a science that the Socialist has neglected to study. The

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social instinct is common to man and animal. When Socialists attempt to separate society into opposing classes, in accordance with their doctrine, they are striking at one of the fountain heads of happiness; how can they expect in such a case to make very much progress? Their heterogeneous ideas and differences of opinion show conclusively, to my mind, that at the feet of this most vital science they will stumble and finally fall. They betray a most stupid and ignorant conception of life—a lack of philosophical thought as well as of practicability.

There are some things we do know, one of which is, that when men are not in social contact with each other there is a tendency to further separation; and another is, that when they do associate with each other there accrues a warmth of feeling sometimes surprising, even astonishing.

“The social smile, the sympathetic tear.”—*Gray*.

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Sociology seemingly does not mean, to the Socialists, responsibility to all their fellow creatures, but only to those of their own belief. If responsibility is one of the signs of an advance in society it should not be clouded by an attempted separation of men into classes. One cannot divide a country without weakening it. No part is equal to the whole. One cannot claim with any sort of reason that the conservation of energy is *inadvisable*. Antagonism is a waste; *only one side of it can succeed*. There should be found some amicable way along the line of least resistance.

I am speaking of Socialists as a class; not of the extreme W. D. Haywood, the less extreme Daniel de Leon, or the moderate John Spargo type, but as striking an average. The reader may place himself where he prefers.

There is a deep mystery of life, one of its underlying principles in the evolution of man, that is often lost sight of. For thousands

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of years the few have ruled the many, and they will doubtless continue so to rule for thousands of years to come. One may attribute this process to a divine power, or he may hold with Darwin, Spencer, or Huxley that it is natural in its origin; but this thought adumbrates what I mean by a study of the science of Sociology. Instead of this, *Economics* is being investigated and made the main issue in Socialism. This study is surface philosophy—good enough, but not deep enough. We must understand man before we can formulate a good plan for his guidance, and the more perfect our understanding is, of course the more perfect will be the plan.

Enlightened self-interest, selfishness modified by far-sighted concessions to opposing interests, is my position.

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CHAPTER I

SOCIALISM

SOCIALISM is used with a great variety of meaning, but for my purpose I shall place all those believing in that doctrine under the head of Socialists. I am fully aware that the so-called Socialists (some of whom are so near democracy that they scarcely cast a shadow) claim to be a different sort of individuals from members of the I. W. W.; and the latter repudiate the former, while they, in turn, repudiate one another. Still, I shall treat them in this book as one; in the same manner as the different church denominations are called Christian.

“Socialism is a theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society,

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an increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor, through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property), and the public collective management of all industries—often popularly but erroneously applied to communism.”—*The Students' Standard Dictionary*.

This Socialism seeks to form an ideal state, as an ultimate object of attainment; a model; a type. In order that it may succeed, it must also be practical; or, in other words, the practical must be worked into the ideal of Socialism, as laid down in our definition. It has as its aim the comradeship of men, and therefore has a noble object.

There are possibly as many different conceptions of Socialism as there are different beliefs in religion. For two thousand years the Christians have not been able to understand one another perfectly, and it may be

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four thousand years before the Socialists shall come to an understanding, for the circle seems to be widening instead of contracting. This shows a weakness, and implies to my mind a lack of the practical and an excess of the ideal.

Socialism in this country may be roughly divided as follows:

- (1) The Industrial Workers of the World, of Chicago.
- (2) The Industrial Workers of the World, of Detroit.
- (3) The Socialist Labor Party.
- (4) The Socialist Party.
- (5) The Christian Socialist Party.

The Savior of all these sects is Karl Marx. Between the five classes there is a connection which may be compared to the merging colors of a rainbow. The Socialistic spectrum extends by broadly marked yet blending gradations from the extremity which is occupied by the bold "reds," who are anar-

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chists in spirit if not in philosophic theory, to the delicate violet band known also as "parlor" or "rose-water" Socialists.

The first class are Socialists who declare themselves as follows:

"The I. W. W. is not a political organization in the sense that political organizations are to-day understood. It is not an anti-political sect. It is not a reform body. Its membership is not made up of anarchists, as some writers have stated. Its ranks are not exclusively composed of Socialists, as others have asserted. True, some of its members may have accepted the anarchist philosophy. Others may have accepted the Socialist faith. However, to the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World they are known only as workers, as members of the working class."—*Page 2, "The Revolutionary I. W. W.,"* by Grover H. Perry.

They also believe in the "complete sur-

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render of all control of industry to the organized workers.”—Page 12, “*The I. W. W. Its History, Structure and Methods*,” by *Vincent St. John*.

They also propose these as their tactics or methods:

“As a revolutionary organization the Industrial Workers of the World aim to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to *make good* in their use. The questions of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ do not concern us.”—Page 17, *Idem*.

“Failing to force concessions from the employers by the strike, work is resumed and ‘sabotage’ is used to force the employers to concede the demands of the workers.”—Page 18, *Idem*.

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The second is an economic organization. Members of this party are Socialists, who believe, according to literature issued from Detroit on March 8, 1915:

“By education and organization we work to secure those changes in social and industrial affairs which we recognize as necessary to secure for the working class all it should have. We advocate the use of political action, but through a separate organization; we have no connection with any political party—this is left for the individual decision of the members.”

—“*Preamble and Constitution*” (Chicago’s)—*I. W. W. Booklet, page 5, section 2.*

They also announce:

“The Industrial Workers of the World shall be composed of actual wage-workers, brought together in an organization embodying thirteen National Industrial Departments, composed of:

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Department of Mining Industry,
Department of Transportation Industry,
Department of Metal and Machinery Industry,
Department of Glass and Pottery Industry,
Department of the Foodstuffs Industry,
Department of Brewery, Wine and Distillery Industry,
Department of Floricultural, Stock, and General Farming Industries,
Department of Building Industry,
Department of the Textile Industries,
Department of the Leather Industries,
Department of the Wood-Working Industries,
Department of Public Service Industries,
Department of Miscellaneous Manufacturing.
—*Idem. section 4.*

“The financial and industrial affairs of each National Industrial Department shall be conducted by an Executive Board of not less than seven (7) nor more than twenty-one (21), selected and elected by the general membership of said National Industrial Department, provided that the Executive Board and general

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membership of the said National Industrial Department shall be at all times subordinate to the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World, subject to appeal, and provided that the expenses of such referendum shall be borne by the National Industrial Departments, or National Industrial Union, or Unions, involved."—*Idem, section 5.*

They believe that the working class and the employing class *have nothing in common*. They claim that the workers are slaves. They believe it to be their duty to organize "to stop the robbery of the product of labor—the source of the Millionaire and other parasites who force millions to toil long hours at the verge of starvation."—*Pamphlet of I. W. W.: "One Union for all Wage-Workers."*

The third is a political organization, the members of which are Socialists who believe

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that "where the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World will sit, there will be the nation's capital" [where the Macgregor sits is the head of the table]; also, and like the "flimsy card-houses that children raise, the present political government of counties, of states—aye, of the city on the Potomac itself—will tumble down, their places to be taken by the central and subordinate administrative organs of the nation's industrial forces."—*Daniel de Leon.*

The Socialist of the fourth class (the most nearly sane of them all) believes in a form of government such as the present, but one in which "the gist of social and political evolution is economic, according to the Socialist philosophy."—*John Spargo.*

In other words, it would not disturb the very small proprietor, or those working under co-operation, but would take over the largest utilities.

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The Socialist of the fifth class is in full sympathy with Socialism *as a political party*. The real object of his Socialism is to interest the Church or Christian element in Socialism. He desires to prove that to be a Socialist is to be a Christian.

Here again we have that same uncertain note one hears in all, and which seems to me to indicate, rather than a practical state of mind, a visionary one, showing *incompetence of detail*. For a long time I have been trying to make out why these men, seemingly agreeing on their main points, cannot get closer together; and I have come to the conclusion that it is on account of their environments; and, if one will take the trouble to associate with these men, or read their literature, he may be able to see this reason himself. A comedian once made a request of his audience: "All those of you who think trusts are all right hold up your hands." Not a hand went up. After a pause, during which he kept looking

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over the audience, he finally said: "I know why—because you're not in them." Cannot we account for a number of our opinions by this homely way of testing them?

To be sure, this same question might be put to a collection of trust magnates, and, on an affirmative answer, the rejoinder be made, "I know why—because you're in them."

Here is what a Socialist writer and lecturer has said:

"Class-division is that which separates the 'wage-paying class' from the 'employed or wage-receiving class.'" Let us see what this last includes:—

A minister is in a wage-receiving class, so he is a laborer; a doctor is in a wage-receiving class, so he is a laborer; a lawyer is in a wage-receiving class, so he is a laborer; an author is in a wage-receiving class, so he is a laborer; a labor agitator is in a wage-receiving class (how fortunate!), so he is a laborer—but a laborer who, with his savings, builds a home,

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pays the wages of laboring men, *he makes himself a capitalist*, for he is in "the employing wage-paying class," as paying the wages to the "wage-receiving class." Take a Socialist lecturer:—He receives money for his services, and is paid by the labor Socialists in the audience. What are *they*, then, but capitalists, or of the "employing, wage-paying class?" Thus they stand in a dual capacity, or else have to perform a sort of gymnastics of before-and-after.

I am using these illustrations only to show *how delicate is the shade* between capital and labor; for one must admit that the \$4,727,403,950.79 in savings banks in this country belong to the laborers (if you can put your hand on them and separate them from the capitalistic class), whatever that may mean.

There is also \$33,818,870 in our Postal Savings Bank—a large amount considering the time this institution has been in existence. This amount, too, belongs to the laborers.

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The total number of depositors in the savings banks is 10,766,936.

There is deposited in other banks \$17,482-344,275, and a large portion of this, no doubt, belongs to the laborers, although there may be quite a number who work only with their brains.

I assume that Socialists *are not capitalists* (at least, they would not so admit themselves); but they are willing by one stride to become such; to regulate, manage and control millions of dollars, not only the funds in savings banks and other banks, but millions of dollars in manufacturing, railroads, mines, etc. Think of it! *Think of the ability necessary for such an undertaking!* And bear in mind where the votes are to come from to get political control! The scheme is preposterous. It cannot be accomplished. If it could be, then the laws of nature would be reversed.

“Equality of opportunity with an equitable

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distribution of the product, not necessarily equality of wealth, is the aim of Socialism," says William Scholl McClure, on page 24 of a paper read before the Albany Press Club. This sounds well, and so do "liberty," "equality," and "fraternity." There is only one word of these three that is generally construed wrongly, and that is "equality"; but the three appeal to every one, because implanted within us is something that calls for fair play. We sympathize with "the under dog." We sympathize with those who are suffering; and if there is a war going on we want to see it conducted on what we deem fair lines. Thus we sympathize with Belgium in this war because the people wanted to live peaceably but were not allowed to. They were not responsible for the war, yet had to suffer for the sins of others. Now equality means equal chance to win any prize, assuming that x equals y ; but God has not made us all equal, so how can an unequal

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person, even if he has an equal opportunity, expect to succeed?

The trouble is that we (those of us who are strong physically) *feel* equal. This is a fact with possibly a very few exceptions, especially in the field of the gathering of wealth, whether in money or goods. We dislike to acknowledge weakness. It is natural to blame others for our shortcomings. Many who have no commercial ability do not see *why* they should not have the faculty of making money. They say, "We could if we had an equal opportunity with Mr. ——, who is an illiterate man." But God saw fit not to give us all that ability. We do not like to blame God for our failings, neither do we like to blame heredity, especially psychical—for are we not strong, do we not have head, eyes, nose, mouth, ears, and body alike? Then we protest louder than ever, "Give us equality, equality, equality." Now, all that the young men ask when they line up for a cross-country

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run is to stand on a line equal with others in the race—an “equality of opportunity.” Do you doubt that each one expects to win? Yet you know that is impossible, for the Almighty (or, if you like it better, heredity) has placed a handicap on some; so the result is that the runners come in at different times.

You say, “Yes, but if all had received the same training, equal opportunity, education, and wealth, it would have been different.” Yes, it might have changed a youth from fifth to first, but the law still holds good, “the survival of the fittest,” or, the survival of the best; so it is that we may pull down one and build up others, and they will be our rulers; but this law of life *cannot be changed*.

We Americans want the best man to win. We want fair play. We want each to have an opportunity, but we cannot give all *equality*. The thinkers of to-day are striving to this end. The intelligence of the people in a democratic republic such as we have will not accept any

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logic not based on science. I am, of course, referring to commercial ability, but "equality" holds good in all spheres of life, especially those of doctors, lawyers, ministers, authors, musicians, and artists. Would it be fair to attempt to regulate the compensation of these men? There are plenty of these men who are capitalists. All have different ideas as to how to live, and live amid different surroundings.

Of course, I do not mean to convey the impression that capitalists are any better than other persons, but I do claim that they are *as good* as others, when striving to do their duty. The more intelligence one has in any calling the less he is concerned as to his capacity or importance. You will generally find successful persons quiet, unassuming, and as free from show or ostentation as possible. George Washington and Abraham Lincoln were men of this stamp. Neither would I convey the impression that money or property is the most important thing (al-

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though *very* important); for there are any number of persons who do not care to be encumbered with more than their needs call for. They dislike to earn it, think it a burden, do not understand how business men can take such interest in the "humdrum" of trade.

We may sympathize with the poor, but the rich will always be their rulers, not "masters," and the poor of to-day may be the rich of to-morrow; and "The borrower is servant (not 'slave') to the lender."

Equality of opportunity as construed by the Socialists means a chance or opportunity to show that they are equal or superior to the capitalists. Well, to be absolutely fair (according to them), every one should have that chance or opportunity, no matter whether it may be feasible or absurd. The wealth of the United States is about \$1,965 per capita; and, of course, this is not all cash, but partly real estate. Now, what would Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of

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Labor (who now receives \$7,500 per annum), do with a \$1,965 opportunity, or what would any of the railroad engineers (who get \$3,500 per annum), or the Socialist lecturers, editors, and writers do? Do you think that, with a chance or opportunity of \$1,965, they would do anything stupendous? What would a laboring man (who now receives \$640 per year) do with a \$1,965 chance or opportunity? I suppose if either of these men is to have an opportunity it would be fair to give even the capitalist a chance, for he counts one, and would be entitled to \$1,965. Whom would you wager on coming out ahead? Maybe, after a few years, you, my Socialist friend, would like *to try it all over again*. You are now having as much of an equality of opportunity as thousands of business men have had, or are having. Why do not you succeed? If the Government owned everything you would get a job in it. What about your equality of opportunity then? Would you

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claim a place at the top or at the bottom? If you are an altruist, you would make the other fellow take the larger salary!

Our laws should be of sufficient breadth to provide for the education of all our children. This is one of the best "equalities of opportunity" which our country can offer for future success.

*The Stability
of a Republic rests on the
Morality and Intelligence
of the Voters*

TRADES UNIONS

CHAPTER II

TRADES UNIONS

TRADES UNIONS in America are all capitalistic in their tendencies. They are a reflex of Socialism, although, if you are a union man, you will probably say Socialism is a reflex of unions. They are, however, very closely allied in the basic idea that "the producer of wealth ought to get the whole of the wealth produced." That is a self-evident fact. I am not going to be led into an assertion of *who* that "producer" *really is*, for that question has caused much writing and more discussion. Whether "ordinary manual labor is the sole producer of wealth," or "all forms of living industrial effort, from those of a Watt or an Edison down to those of a man who tars a fence, should be grouped together

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under the common name of laborers," matters not to me just now, but the Socialists and labor unions ought to have a common cause. Such, however, is not the fact. Here is what a union miner and a Socialist, or Social Democrat, has to say about John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America (I assume that this man is a Socialist and a union man, and, therefore, he is in a dual capacity):

"Mr. President and Fellow Delegates, I have come to speak to you as a Colorado miner—one of the rank and file—who has grown up among the coal and metalliferous mines of the West; one who knows the history of our struggles, our trials, our suffering and our bitter defeat, and the grievous wrong John Mitchell has done us, and I am here to tell you of it."—"John Mitchell Exposed," by Robert Randell.

Also:

"In *Harper's Weekly* of December 31, 1904,
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is a full-page picture of the banquet given by the Civic Federation at the Park Avenue Hotel, New York. The discerning eye gazing upon the picture of that sumptuous feast may be able to discover the countenance of Marcus M. Marks, who will be long remembered for his fight against the Garment Workers' Union; O. M. Eidritz, ditto, New York Building Trades; George A. Fuller of Sam Parks infamy, ditto, bridge and structural iron workers; Secretary Easley, who sacrifices himself to 'maintain friendly relations between capital and labor, for \$10,000 a year'; August Belmont, the newly elected president; H. H. Vreeland, the newly elected chairman of the welfare department (H. H. Vreeland, with union-smashing record); Frank Robbins, the newly elected chairman of the trade agreement committee (Frank Robbins, who told the miners in the joint-scale committee in Indianapolis one short year ago that if his union miners struck he had enough non-union

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men to fill his contracts—Frank Robbins, who gave John Mitchell the 'diamond mementoes'; and President Eliot, of Harvard University, who thrice publicly declared 'a scab is a hero,' and was denounced by resolution adopted at the New Orleans Convention of the American Federation of Labor, newly elected, 'on motion of Gompers,' chairman of the department of industrial economics. Andrew Carnegie sent a long letter saying he was unwell—probably worrying over the strikes at his mills in Youngstown and Girard, Ohio, against a reduction in wages.

"No wonder John Mitchell is a little sensitive when the Civic Federation is discussed. No wonder his wrath gets the better of his judgment when the mask of hypocrisy is pulled from the Civic Federation, and his treason to the coal miners of America is exposed."—*Idem.*

Here is what another union miner said at that time:

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“In regard to John Mitchell, I denounce him as one of the greatest autocrats I have ever seen, and the time is coming when we will have to turn him down or he will turn us down. Many of our women and children have had to wear gunnysacks on their feet, and there is much poverty in our camps. If Mitchell was doing his duty he would be here leading the strike instead of being in France, staying at a \$12-a-day hotel, while the miners of this district are starving. But away back yonder in the East is a man who is putting his thumb on you. I have not seen the time since the strike was first inaugurated when we could win out any better than we could now if we had the money. If we were to win this strike it would be turning down our idol. Some of the Eastern people don't want him turned down.”—*John Mitchell Exposed*,” by Robert Randell.

“The old unionism is organized upon the basis of the identity of the interests of the

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capitalists and working classes. It spends its time and energy trying to harmonize these two essentially antagonistic classes; and so this unionism has at its head a harmonizing board called the Civic Federation. This federation consists of three parts: a part representing the class, and still another part that is said to represent the public. The capitalists are represented by that great union labor champion, August Belmont. [Laughter and hisses.] The working class is represented by Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor—[hisses and cries of sick 'em]—and the public, by the President." [Laughter.]—"Industrial Unionism," by Eugene V. Debs.

In Proceedings of the New Jersey Socialists' Unity Conference, that held six sessions, beginning December 17, 1905, and ending March 4, 1906, you will note the following:

"It did not take the Conference long to be

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one as to the essential reasons for the present deplorable division; consequently, it was no difficult matter to ultimately agree upon the essentials for the solid foundation of a united political Socialist movement.

“We found that this foundation rested upon two points—first, the proper attitude for a political party of Socialism to assume toward the burning question of trades unionism; second, the proper attitude for a political party of Socialism to assume toward the ownership of its press, the voice of the movement.

“As to the first, the Conference holds (as the subjoined resolutions I, II, and III, set forth in detail) that, unless the political movement is backed by a class consciousness, that is, a properly constructed economic organization, ready to take and hold and conduct the productive powers of the land, and thereby ready and able to enforce, if need be, the fiat of the Socialist ballot of the working

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class—that WITHOUT such a body in existence, the Socialist political movement will be but a flash in the pan—successful, at best, in affording political preferment to scheming intellectuals, and thereby powerful only to attract such elements. On this specific head the Conference moreover holds that a political party of Socialism which marches to the polls unarmed by such a properly constructed economic organization but invites a catastrophe over the land in the measure that it strains for political success, and in the measure that it achieves it. It must be an obvious fact to all serious observers of the times that the day of the political success of such a party in America would be the day of its defeat, to be immediately followed by an industrial and financial crisis, from which none would suffer more than the working class itself.

“The Conference holds that for the Socialist political movement to favor American

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Federation of Labor craft unionism is to bluntly deny Socialist principles and aims; for no matter how vigorously the American Federation of Labor may cry 'Organize! Organize!!' in practice it seeks to keep the unorganized, the overwhelming majority of the working class, out of the organization. The facts can easily be proved to a candid world. High initiation fees, limitation of apprentices, cornering of jobs for the few whom they admit into the organization, are but a few of the methods used to discourage organization, which results not only in lack of organization, but by the craft form of what organization they do have they isolate the workers into groups, which, left to fight for themselves in time of conflict, become the easy prey of the capitalists. On the other hand, the readiness with which certain portions of the exploiting class force their victims to join the American Federation of Labor is sufficient condemnation of the organization.

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“By its own declarations and acts, the American Federation of Labor shows that it accepts wage-slavery as a finality; and, holding that there is identity of interest between employer and employee, the American Federation of Labor follows it out by gladly accepting the vice-presidency of the Belmont Civic Federation for its president, Gompers, thus allying itself with an organization fathered by the capitalist class for the purpose of blurring the class struggle, and for prolonging the present system which is cornered upon the exploitation of labor.

“For these reasons the Conference concludes that it is the duty of a political party of Socialism to promote the organization of a properly constructed union, both by elucidating the virtues of such a union and by exposing the vices of craft unionism. Consequently, and as a closing conclusion on this head, it rejects as impracticable, vicious, and productive only of corruption, the theory of

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neutrality on the economic field. The Conference, true to these views, condemns the American Federation of Labor as an obstacle to the emancipation of the working class.

“Holding that political power flows from and is a result of economic power, and that the capitalist is entrenched in the government as the result of his industrial power, the Conference commends as useful to the emancipation of the working class the Industrial Workers of the World, which instead of running away from the class struggle bases itself squarely upon it, and boldly and correctly sets out the Socialist principle ‘that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common’ and that ‘the working class must come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, to take and hold that which they produce by their labor.’”

Here you see a gulf fixed, and it reveals the egotist well developed. Now I submit the

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question, whither are we drifting?—toward the ideal, or toward the barbaric? I think the Socialists take the correct stand when they say that trades unions are capitalistic, and that, therefore, with them they cannot unite. I am now speaking in a synthetic sense, for it is very difficult to say just where “capital” leaves off and “labor” begins; but the affiliation of local, state, and national trades unions with the American Federation of Labor as advocating the advancement of wages, the shortening of hours and the influencing of legislation in favor of labor, has produced a stronger and more far-reaching trust than any as yet organized. They not only use their great power to influence legislation, but they ask the Government to help them, as reported by the Associated Press as follows:

“Philadelphia, Pa., November 18th.—The American Federation of Labor to-day unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon President Wilson to insist that the Colorado

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coal operators immediately comply with the federal plan of settlement of the strike in that State, and in the event they refuse, that he take such steps as are necessary to have a receiver appointed for the purpose of taking over the mines affected and operating them in the interests of the people, under federal supervision, until such time as the civil and political rights of the people are established.

“The convention also adopted a resolution, raising the salary of the president of the Federation from \$5,000 to \$7,500 a year, and that of the secretary from \$4,000 to \$5,000.

“In connection with the approval by the committee on the executive council's action in supporting the immigration bill before Congress, containing the literacy test, the committee submitted a statement to the convention, saying in part:

“Your committee desires to call your attention to and impress upon you the almost assured certainty that the cessation of the

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present war in Europe will be followed by such a flood of migration from those military-dominated countries as the world never witnessed in the change of a people from one home to another.

“Therefore, it is the duty of the workers of America to see to it that they be protected in every possible way, to the end that they will not be forced into competition with these bits of wreckage tossed on our shores or left stranded in Europe when the wave of war recedes.”

In the last paragraph, you will notice, they would bar their fellow-workmen from participating in the glory of a land to which a large number of them have recently come. This labor trust has its limit, for it has already set up a kind of kingdom. The president of the American Federation of Labor and the presidents of other amalgamations have been in office for a number of years. This method tends to set up a bureaucracy. This labor trust has its limit, because the consumers—

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those not in the trust—will soon come to realize that the advance of labor increases the cost of living, without any chance of a similar advance for them—say farmers, professional men, doctors, ministers, editors, authors, those on salaries, and the very large class of those not in unions; for if the employer of labor is compelled to pay more wages he adds it to the price of the articles manufactured. Do you not see that if the labor unions advance their scale of wages 10 per cent., then to be perfectly fair to you, if engaged in producing (I use this in its larger sense) anything, they should assure you a similar advance of 10 per cent.; but then, again, if all were advanced 10 per cent., all would be in the same position as before the advance, for the cost of living would similarly advance. In Australia, from 1901 to 1912, wages advanced less than 25 per cent., and the cost of living advanced more than 25 per cent.

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Here is another report of the Associated Press:

"Chicago, Ill., January 18, 1915.—On the Western railroads there is a maximum wage of \$3,725.20 for passenger engineers, and \$3,342.30 for freight engineers; \$1,752.20 for passenger firemen, and \$1,890.32 for freight firemen. Against these maximums, the governors of seven States receive \$3,000 a year or less, while those of seven other States receive \$4,000, or only slightly above the engineers' maximum earnings. Engineers in passenger service earned actually an average of \$185 per month, with the maximum actual earnings of \$341. In the freight service the average was \$170, with an actual maximum of \$358. The firemen in passenger service that month earned an average of \$115, with a maximum of \$210, while in freight service their actual earnings for the month were on the average of \$110, with a maximum of \$221. Other firemen in combination freight

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and passenger service earned even higher wages."

So you see that the labor unions are in a class by themselves. They are, in this sense, capitalistic.

The things that have been said about Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell by the Socialists would fill a big book. It is not my desire to stir up hard feelings. I do not approve of these attacks. My purpose in noticing them is to show the feeling between the Socialists and the trade unions. I am quite sure the critics injure themselves more than they do those criticised.

Just a word about Australia and New Zealand. Next to New Zealand, Australia leads the world in socialistic government. That country is about the size of the United States, but we have twenty times its population, if one excludes the aborigines. The government owns the railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, lighting and water plants,

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some of the mines and banks, all the sleeping cars and railroad eating-houses; it engages in life insurance, regulates the price paid and received for labor, etc.

If we are to believe the Socialists, certainly Australia should be happy. Far from it. There are twenty times (I conjecture, but so it seems to me) more strikes there than in the United States. Almost everything is unionized, but there are plenty of non-union men, which seems strange. Hatred, discontent, and jealousy are there, even as in the United States. An attempt is made to place the energetic, thoughtful, and frugal citizen on a par with the profligate, idle, and shiftless, who are always willing to take advantage of their superiors. The income tax, land tax, the license tax, stamp tax, etc., are increasing. Incomes above \$1,000 are taxed. The same defiance of law is shown there as appeared here some time ago,

I cannot go further on this line, for space will not permit. But I wish to draw atten-

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tion to what I think is an important fact. Where hate is, peace will not come, and the more hate we have anywhere the less peace do we find. Where ignorance gets place above intelligence, that country will surely retrograde. The only thing that is holding Australia together is the attraction of its fertile plains. Nature has done much for her. But for this favor her Utopian dream would have been shattered long ago, as others have been on account of the lack of material to sustain them. When are we to have men who will lead us—show to us our weaknesses, impress upon us what life should be, and compel us, by their logic and their lives, to love our fellowmen? When that time has come, then peace also will have arrived.

I will not attempt any historical notice of Socialism in England, Germany, France, Switzerland, Russia, Canada, etc., or attempt any analysis of the theories of men like Robert

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Owen, Ricardo, Marx, Lasalle, Bebel, St. Simon, Upton Sinclair, J. Guesde, or others; or special brands of Socialism such as Christian Socialism, Democratic Socialism, Socialists of the Chair, Social Monarchical unions, Independent Socialists, etc. My main purpose is to throw some light on Socialism in this country, as well as to endeavor to establish more of a brotherly than a merely comrade spirit,—for that has a profounder appeal. Besides, a book of this character could not cover such an extensive ground.

*The Stability
of a Republic Rests on the
Morality and Intelligence
of the Voters*

SLAVERY

CHAPTER III

“SLAVERY”

A SLAVE is a “person who is held in bondage to another; one who is wholly subject to the will of another; one who is held as a chattel; one who has no freedom of action, but whose person and services are wholly under the control of another.” (Webster.) Here is what a Socialist has to say about a “wage-slave” (not a slave according to Webster):

“While we, the revolutionists, seek the emancipation of the working class, and the abolition of all exploitation, super-populism seeks to rivet the chains of wage-slavery more firmly upon the proletariat. There is no exploiter like the middle-class exploiter. Carnegie may fleece his workers—he has 20,000 of them—of only fifty cents a day and yet

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net, from sunrise to sunset, \$10,000 profits. The banker with plenty of money to lend can thrive with a trifling shaving off each individual note at 5 per cent.; but the apple woman on the street corner must make a 105 per cent. profit, even to exist. For the same reason, the middle class, the employer of few hands, is the worst, the bitterest, the most inveterate, the most relentless exploiter of the wage-slave."—"Reform and Revolution," by Daniel De Leon, pp.12 and 13.

If any may care to apply the word "slave" to themselves, they can do so, and probably prove its fitness. The capitalist is a slave to his environment; he must oversee the business he has invested in *every day of the year*. We have all heard the expression, "He is a slave to his business." Well does he know that, if he should suspend operations, the fixed charges of his business would swallow him up forthwith. He is a "slave" to those depending on him—no matter whether you

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may think this extravagant or not. He has been gradually environed by a state of affairs from which he cannot easily disengage himself. He not only puts in his time at the office but he takes his work home with him. Many a sleepless night he spends planning, possibly for greater success, or for a way to avoid disaster. He is a "slave" to his body; for he has worked his brain (at meals or too soon after) to such an extent that he must needs consult his doctor and place himself on a diet. If he is a person of much influence, he is called on to assist in municipal affairs and various other functions, which make him a slave to the community; and this deeply saps his vitality.

You will, my Socialistic reader, probably say, "Yes, but he is not a *slave*. He can go and come at pleasure, under certain conditions." But he *cannot*, any more than can the lowest laborer. He is held in a conventional grip. He abuses his body more than does the laboring man. The suffering of

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hunger cannot be compared to the slow sapping of one's personal force. Hunger is generally but occasional; the steady wear and tear on the capitalist's nerve mean a slow death. Just permit yourself a moment's reflection upon the financial wrecks you have heard of and read about. You may retort "*What for?*" Oh, very well. But every one of us has different kinds of corpuscles in his blood. We spring from different people. As Luther Burbank sifts a little of the pollen of one flower onto the pistil of another, to change the character of that plant, so has our blood been treated. Race horses have a way of expressing themselves different from that of draft horses.

Well, then, why do not the capitalists give up their wealth, and retire into the manual laboring class? Did you ever see or hear of any one who was not always making an effort to advance himself financially, or in some other way? Discontent is "born and bred in the bone."

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The Socialists make a great mistake when they attempt to stir up hatred by stating that the laborers are slaves to their masters, the capitalistic class—for slavery forestalls that sense of human dignity which lies at the foundation of morals. I submit to you, my Socialistic reader, do you not see that you are demoralizing those whom you are attempting to help, by stirring up war in their breasts? I have it on good authority that 90 per cent. of the wars have been destructive and detrimental, while only 10 per cent. have been of service. I know you do not believe in war, so why stir it up? Why not rather say to laborers, "You are the masters, and just as soon as you can show yourselves capable you will rule—for you outnumber the capitalists, and you can persuade others to think in your own way." In any way and every way you should show them the dignity of labor, and hold out to them the coming of a better day—for it will surely come, and has

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come more manifestly in other countries than in our own. By doing this, you will render a great service to your country—for, unless this country is to go backwards, we, all of us, must see to it that wealth is distributed as widely as possible by proper laws, by cool judgment, by intelligence, and the best regard for the feelings of all, haughty or humble.

A wise man, whether rich or poor, does understand that wealth encourages luxury, degeneration, and vice, and that the more of simple domestic virtues the people of a nation have, the greater and the more potential will productive labor be. It sometimes seems strange to me that we have not learned this lesson from the history of Rome.

*The Stability
of a Republic rests on the
Morality and Intelligence
of the Voters*

HATE

CHAPTER IV

HATE

“WHOSOEVER hateth his brother is a murderer.” This was said a great many years ago. One feels that the Author of that phrase was greatly, divinely in earnest. Hate has had its sway, and war and strife, but love has accomplished much more for the human race, and will go on increasing its measure in the future. The greatest spirit in history, born two thousand years ago, taught that Love was the supreme power. Even our Anarchists, Socialists, and Labor Union citizens deplore war, which engenders hatred. It depends, of course, on the kind of war. We are certainly a queer lot; some of us talk of comradeship and brotherly love, and almost in the same breath condemn, yea, hate com-

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rade and brother, or the other fellow's comrade or brother. Here is the way one kind of Socialist feels:—

"Leave the waving of Union Jacks and the singing of silly songs to the brainless, insipid Johnnies of the purple-sock brigade, who dive under, over, across, and along drapers' and grocers' counters for barely sufficient to keep them in hair-oil, which, by the way, is their share in this great and glorious Empire.

"When the hand-rags of the capitalist class, whether they be journalists, politicians, priests, or parsons, call for men to defend the interests of the well-fed, widow-robbing, child-murdering, brain-clogged, soul-destroying, labor-exploiting, psalm-singing, hypocritical, double-eyed, blood-sucking fraternity of modern Dick Turpins, who buy us working men in the labor market in the same way as they buy horse-hair, pig-iron, cheese, ham, or any other commodity, tell them to go to hell!

"If we must organize to fight—and assur-

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edly we must—let us organize to fight the enemy at home. Let our army be built up with its political and industrial battalions. Let us engage in the CLASS WAR, the war between the skinners and the skinned.

“War with all its atrocious horrors would be impossible if the working class would refuse to be made hand-rags of.”

Is there much love in that fellow's “cosmos”?

Here is another kind:

“If their (the Socialists') contention is correct, a small body of capitalists are robbing the great working class. If the working class has not found out who is robbing it, it cannot find out too soon. Nor can the working class find out too quickly the methods by which it is being robbed.

“*They* do not try to array men against men. They do not try to engender hatred of Mr. Morgan, Mr. Rockefeller, or any other

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great capitalist. Socialists have nothing against any rich man individually.

"We mince no words. We say to the capitalist class:

"Your pockets are filled with gold, but your hands are covered with blood. You kill men to get money. You don't kill them yourselves. As a class, you are too careful of your sleek bodies. You might be killed if you were less careful. But you cause other men to kill."

"You do it in the meanest way. You do it by appealing to their patriotism."

"You say: "It is sweet to die for one's country."

"You don't dare say: "It is sweet to die for Havemeyer," as many Americans died during the Sugar Trust war to "free Cuba."

"You don't say: "It is sweet to die for Guggenheim or Morgan," as many Americans would have died if Taft's army had crossed the Rio Grande."

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“‘You don’t say: “It is sweet to die for the Tobacco and other trusts,” as many Americans died during the war with the Philippines.’

“‘You don’t dare say any of these things, because you know, if you did, you would not get a recruit. You know you would be more likely to get the boot!’”

This is more moderate—a little more room is left for love, but not a great deal. In this connection, let us look at what a “robber” is. Robbing, in law, is “the act of stealing; specifically, the felonious taking and removing of personal property, with an intent to deprive the right owner of the same; larceny.” You might apply this to some men or some body of men, and in such a case they can and should be punished; but you cannot apply the word “robber” to a capitalist under our present laws, any more than you can to the lowest paid laboring man, unless you can show

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that he has robbed. You may apply the words, "selfish," "mean," "greedy," etc., which may well fit; but if you are honest you cannot make such a falsehood a truth. You may use the words for the purpose of arousing a spirit of hatred in men's breasts, but you will then call into action two injurious emotions, which must antagonize any permanent benefit.

Let us look a little closer at this word "robber," which Socialists with few exceptions use. It is a savory word to them; it has a broad and general context. In a sensational way it is applied to men of large means, those who, as they say, take too large a share of the profits or returns of any business. But who is to be the judge of just what income one is entitled to? Suppose that the writer of the Socialist pamphlet I have referred to above could by his ability and education make \$5,000 per year (I assume he will get all he can, same as the capitalist), and he re-

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ceives that amount from the public; would he call himself a robber, or feel comfortable if any one else did?

Take into consideration the working man who is receiving \$2 per day, or, say, \$600 per year. From his viewpoint the workmen might call him a robber and say, "Why, I need as much to eat as you do; I have a family to support even as you have; why should you get more than eight times as much as I?"

The Socialist would probably reply: "I am educated, and I have an idea that I have more brains,—and, besides, I know how to get it. I am more clever."

But the laboring man might say: "You are a robber! We, the workingmen, do not need you. You think you are worth \$5,000 a year, but you are not. You do nothing but stir up strife. If it were not that the public paid *you* \$5,000 per year, living would be cheaper."

Socialist: "Oh, yes, you do need me, for I

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will be the means of getting your wages advanced, your hours made shorter; in fact, before I get through, you'll think you're in heaven."

Laboring Man: "Will you give up some of your salary for the general good?"

Socialist: "Oh, no! I am looking to those who make more than I do, for I expect to add something to my salary."

Laboring Man: "Why not give me \$400 of your salary? Then you will have \$4,600 left, and I will have \$1,000 per year. You don't know how much that means to me."

Socialist: "Why, really, I can't do that. You see, to tell the truth, it is all I can do to make ends meet. I moved into a better house, which was larger than our old one, and wife had to have a woman come in once a week to clean; and, residing in a better neighborhood, my wife and children have to dress better. I am sending the children to school. So you see, I really cannot."

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Laboring Man: "Well, you see how I'm fixed. I would like to do as you are doing, but cannot. But say, there's a fellow that lives next to me. Can you help him to get a job, or maybe can you send him a couple of hundred to tide him over until he can get one?"

Socialist: "Well, now, really I can't do that either; but I will write and write, and talk and talk. I will abuse and abuse the capitalists who have more than I have; will call them 'robbers' and any other names I can find that hurt, and so you will be helped. I am doing all this to stir up the laboring men to hate the capitalists, and lead them to join the Socialist Party. This is what I mean when I say I will help you."

Laboring Man: "*I don't believe it.* You are taking property against my will. You know my wage is all I receive. The money you get, while you may not realize the fact, comes from me or my fellow-workmen. We

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pay it; and, if we did not spend our money in such foolish ways, you might be a producer of wealth."

Socialist: "Why, my comrade, you don't look at this in the right way. You are all wrong. I am really a laboring man, although I do not work with my hands."

Laboring Man: "Don't call me 'comrade!' I am no comrade of yours, since you refuse to give me \$400 of your salary, and also refuse to help my comrade until he can get a job. You are a coward, snake, capitalist, autocrat, aristocrat, well-fed, brain-clogged hypocrite. You are a bourgeois, or you would be, and some day may be. If I could find fiercer words I would use them. Good-bye!"

I have used the sum of \$5,000, because the same pamphlet referred to argues: "Socialists contend that under Socialism everybody could not only have work all the time, but everybody could live as well as does now the man whose income is \$5,000 a year."

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Of course this refers to only a certain class of agitators.

The following Scripture is to me the most beautiful of all literature:

“If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love, I am become sounding brass or a clanging cymbal. And if I have the gift of prophecy, and know all mysteries and all knowledge; and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing. And if I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and if I give my body to be burned, but have not love, it profiteth me nothing. Love suffereth long, and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up; doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own; is not provoked, taking not account of evil; rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Love never

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faileth; but whether there be prophecies, they shall be done away; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall be done away. For we know in part, and we prophesy in part; but when that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I felt as a child, I thought as a child; now that I am become a man, I have put away childish things. For now we see in a mirror, darkly; but then face to face; now I know in part, but then shall I know fully even as also I was fully known. But now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; and the greatest of these is love."—*I Corinthians, XIII.*

I have quoted the above in order to show the divine contrast between love and hate. Who would choose to entertain the latter in place of the former? Even the rankest Socialist must, in his serious, better moments, see that the one will build up while the other

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will tear down. The Socialists have their “comrades” whom they love, but part of their thought is consumed with hate. Please do not classify me as a sentimentalist, for my whole life has been passed in dealing with hard, practical facts; but I do believe that *love is the greatest motive power*, when it is of the practical rather than the sentimental kind. Socialists may say that capitalism has no love. It is easy to say so; that does not make it so. A capitalist's good name is of more value to him than his pecuniary wealth.

Socialists dislike the Catholics—a great many of them *hate* them. This is a strong word, but I think it conveys the truth. I am sorry, for they injure themselves. My sympathy also goes out to the misguided people who are responsible for the anti-Catholic literature that is being distributed in this country. I said my *sympathy*, and that word expresses it. I do not hate them, nor greatly

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dislike them, but I feel that these people are narrow, and are not accomplishing any good, while, at the same time, they are promoting the very interests which they seek to destroy. They permit their baser feelings to overrule them. I am sure they have better impulses.

I am not a professing Catholic, but, when I consider the high motives, the zeal, the brotherly love, the colossal sacrifices that most of these people are capable of, I realize in my heart a great respect for them, for I feel that they are not narrow, in the sense in which that word is generally used, but broadly humanitarian. A Catholic priest and I were friends in a general cause—a cause of large, human well-being. I was not able, in the time we were together, to see anything in his heart, as judged by his actions, but a broad love for humanity; I respected him, and I cherish that respect to-day.

CAPITALISTS

CHAPTER V

CAPITALISTS

IT IS not my cue to discuss what capital is. I will merely say I believe that “to any advance in the arts or industries, or the comforts of life, a rate of production exceeding the rate of consumption, with consequent accumulation of resources, or, in other words, the formation of capital, is indispensable.” At present we are interested in the capitalist. After having read considerably of Socialism by different authors, I have not been able to *define* a capitalist. Of course, one can pick a few men at the very top and say, “These men are capitalists,” according to the idea of a Socialist; but where the bottom is no one seems to know. Perhaps my place is not with the capitalist class at all; but as our

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brothers, the Socialists, say, "the capitalists are so much in the minority," I feel like keeping them company; but "the Lord knows" I work hard enough. If one should believe all that Socialists say, I think he would come to the conclusion that the laboring men (whoever they are) were angels and the capitalists were devils. The following is from the pen of a learned Socialist author (Karl Kautzky):

"The capitalist class performs no manner of productive work. This is done by the wage-worker, but the wage-worker does not produce for himself. He cannot. All the things which are to-day indispensable for production—land and capital—are the private property of a comparatively small number of people. . . . The proletariat (workingmen) produce the surplus, which industrial capital appropriates."

Now, my reader, please pick out the capitalist. And how is it that all the Socialists *know so much about capitalists?* Were any

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of them ever such? Have they passed through the stress and strain—aye, the very depths of despair and anxiety, as these men have? They have known, no doubt, what a tired brain means, but have they at the same time experienced the feeling of disaster, not always to one's self, but to thousands of others? And yet, as I will take occasion to say later, one Socialist, at least, would run the risk of all this if he had the opportunity.

A "CAPITAL" STORY

Fifteen years ago I met a gentleman at dinner in New York City by the name of John _____. He was forty years of age, about five feet eight inches tall, broad-shouldered, of stocky build, rather light hair, and piercing gray eyes overshadowed by heavy eyebrows. When he turned those eyes on one, especially if he was deeply interested in the conversation, one did not think of anything else. The eyes were as two search-lights. The glance was of short duration,

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but in that space of time you felt he had penetrated your thoughts. He informed me he had spent some time on a farm in his early youth, which, no doubt, laid the foundation that stood him in such good stead in later life. I sat next to him at dinner. He was not much of a talker but a good listener. He seemed very much interested in what I had to say, and was well informed on the general topics of the day. He had a peculiar habit of tapping on the table with his second finger when asked for his opinion. He would draw up his shoulders a little, incline his head to one side, and tap, tap, tap, for some time until one became anxious for him to deliver himself. He would weigh his words before he spoke.

This man, we all can agree, was a capitalist, or he was certainly one who would fit the Socialist's bill. He was a hard worker. If he had made an engagement to go to the opera, had his dress suit on, and it was within a half-

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hour of the time to go, and some business matter was presented to him that had possibilities in it, he would break the engagement and go to work on the proposition. He was not a speculator. He was more interested in manufacturing than anything else.

A year later I met this man downtown (he lived in New York City). He invited me to his home for dinner and to spend the night. I accepted the invitation. We had a most delightful time, and soon retired for the night. The next morning we breakfasted at eight. After we had seated ourselves, a large bundle of letters was handed him. He said to the butler, "No, take them away. I will not look at them now." Then, as if to apologize or explain to me, he said, "You see, when I am downtown, I am so busy talking to people that some of my mail is neglected, so I have it sent up here, and at breakfast read it."

But I said, "Why, how can you survive that? I should think you would have indigestion."

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"Oh, no. My digestion is all right; and look at the time I save; besides, it's quiet here, and I can think."

"Yes, but you are pulling the blood to your brain when it should be circling around in the region of your stomach. I couldn't stand that a week."

"Well, I can; and, do you know, I think the doctors don't know as much as they would like one to think they do."

This ended that part of our conversation.

After breakfast he said, "Smoke?"

"No, thanks."

"Well, think you're sensible. Neither do I—not that I don't like it, for I do; but I found out, to my satisfaction, that when I smoke, I have not as clear a head, so I 'cut it out.'"

I have known this gentleman intimately ever since, have met him quite often, and I regard him as a business friend. The last time I saw him was six months ago. He invited me to his home for dinner, after which

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we began a reminiscence. I might say here that he is now fifty-five, and has been a successful business man.

I said, "You have been a very successful man. It must make you feel good."

"Why, no, I've never thought of it in that light. I can't tell you what has impelled me to do as I have done, unless it is that I like the game. I don't feel any different since my working on the farm. I do not understand when I hear people say, 'He must be a great man to do that,' or 'I wish I had his brain,' or 'If I had his money I would do so and so.' When they smile at me so sweetly, and jump up and offer me a chair, it makes no impression on me, as I feel just the same as I always have."

"You have, no doubt, seen some hard work in the past fifteen years."

"Hard work? Well, I should say so; if I had not a constitution like an ox I should have gone down long ago. For days and days

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I have worked from eight in the morning until midnight, not only for months, but for years; and now the doctors say (blame the doctors!) that if I don't 'let up,' they will not be responsible. Lately I *have been* troubled with indigestion—can't sleep well, and am more nervous. Sometimes I have terrible dreams, but—let's drop this sort of talk."

I said, "You have made a great many improvements in your own business—I mean the business you are most largely interested in."

"Yes, but this could not have been accomplished had I not employed a large force of chemists to find use for the by-products. As these chemists became more valuable, I raised their salaries. Finally, I struck on a plan of giving them a percentage on the savings their discoveries made possible. Don't know how it will work, but I'm going to try it. Some of these fellows seem to have good heads, while others, try their best, do not get anything out."

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“Do you give these the same salaries?”

“Why, bless you, no. Do you think the bright ones would stand for that? I asked one of them who was a Socialist: ‘Charlie, you get \$5,000 a year. Will you divide up with Hank?’ (Hank gets \$2,000.) He quickly said, ‘I guess not.’ ‘Well,’ I said, ‘I thought you were a Socialist.’ He said, ‘Well, I never looked at it in that light.’ I said, ‘Think about it.’”

“Could Charlie run the business *if you were to sell it to the Government?*”

“Lord, no! Charlie knows all about the business, but he doesn’t know a thing about handling the workmen to the best advantage. He has no idea outside of chemistry. He has no ideas of management. The goods he would turn out would be more costly than they are now, without his salary added.”

“Well, you know the Socialist idea is for the Government to run such large establishments?”

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"Oh, yes, I know, but who is going to be *the boss*, or who is going to place the value on the boss?"

"I don't know how they are going to fix that."

"Well, I have been in business a great many years, and I never heard a more foolish thing. It is not practical. It's visionary. Is that what you or I would do in our business—turn out our best men and keep the poorest?"

"I want to go back to Charlie, one of your chemists. You know, it is not all of the Socialists' idea to divide up. That idea provokes them. They say that it is idiocy too glaring to need exposure."

"Oh, yes, I know about that; and of course they are right; but some of them (not many) claim that this can be done to a certain extent; but it certainly is foolish. I was just having some fun with Charlie, but was surprised to see he tumbled to it. Charlie is a very selfish fellow, and has bothered me more than the rest about advancing his salary."

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“Is Charlie educated? What sort of a fellow is he?”

“Why, Charlie is a *well-read man*; in fact, you can’t touch on any subject but he can take his part. He is, I think, a Frenchman. At least, he can speak that language, besides Italian and Spanish.”

“How is it that he doesn’t understand more about Socialism?”

“Yes, that is curious, and I, for one, fail to see how the Socialists expect to gain many followers. For think of the thousands of workingmen who cannot read; and the thousands more whose reading is so limited that their reasoning must be quite limited also. I don’t wish to cast any reflection on the Socialist thinkers, for they have had in their ranks, and still have, some of the best in the world; but they talk “over the heads” of their listeners. And, besides, have you never noticed that thinkers, or philosophers, some of them, are not very *practical*? I should say Karl

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Marx was their best prophet; but any ordinary man can look ahead when he has a hint, as, for instance, of the drift of competition and trusts. One must have a great deal of patience to read Marx's books through. I want to tell you, however, that Karl Marx was a remarkable man. I admire him probably as much as some of the Socialists dislike the capitalists."

"I quite agree with you that there are some remarkable Socialists."

"Yes, but they all keep taking one way back into ancient history, and tiring one by reiterating that social revolution is inevitable and sure to come—what private property is, and how the laboring man produces everything. They will tell you of the size of the socialistic republic, start out on a voyage around the world and tell you how Socialism is going to affect all countries,—tell you about the economic value of the State, show you how Socialism will reform the State, how superior Socialism is to

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Capitalism, tell you the difference between the kinds of Socialism, etc.

“Some Socialists tell you how government ownership will *not* work, and that such ownership is not Socialism, although thousands of other Socialists believe it is. They also know, and can see into the capitalist’s brain, and tell why the capitalists resort to government ownership. Strange to say, they will tell you about the ‘feather-brained’ capitalist’s idea of Socialism, and can show you how to run your business better than you can yourself. They make fun of every one who differs from them, and talk of their logic being much superior to that of all others. But the question that provokes them most, I think, is ‘*What is your plan?*’ If you ask them that and are not abused then I will be mistaken. They will say you are stupid, malicious, and apply a lot more of choice adjectives; but how is it they tell you exactly how it is going to work, not only here, but all over the world,—tell

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you how it is coming about, and all that sort of thing, but when you ask for a *plan*, then they begin to hedge and tell you that you are stupid, that you should have 'faith in us,' as Moses had in God, saying, 'We will lead you out of the wilderness. Trust us.'

"That is not the way nations are formed. That is not the way our republic was launched. Our leaders had a plan, and everybody knew about it. The principal laws were kept, and when they were altered, it was done by a majority of the people. When I speak of a majority, I do not mean a numerical one, but the preponderance of intelligence, for one intelligent man may influence a thousand."

"Yes, but you are speaking of only one kind of Socialist."

"I know it. You seem to be asking me all the questions. Now, I am going to ask you one. How many kinds are there?"

"Well, that *is* a question. I knew when you asked me one it would be difficult to answer.

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I had reference to those who believe in the government, as it now stands, taking over and paying for property with bonds."

"That rather amuses me, for that is confiscation, but on a milder scale than advocated by the last Socialist I was discussing. You see, the more rational these men are the more mild they are, and the clearer the ideas they put forward; also the more followers they will have. Their propaganda are more practical, and people can understand better what they really mean; but they want only the big things that are making money—like the business I have built up for these twenty years—the business I have worked for as I never would have done had it been for the government, as there would have been very little incentive—no fun in the game. And I thoroughly believe that the money I have received for my efforts is no more than I was entitled to, and that it would not have been made under government management. I think, too, I have used

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the money entrusted to me to better advantage than the government would have done. Some one must, of necessity, invest the surplus; and cannot the thousands of business men who have been trained in their different lines do this better than those who have not their experience? These men would not be in these places if they were not fitted to fill them.

"Do you think the State could or would expend the money as wisely? For please bear in mind the multitude of affairs this State would have to take on its shoulders without having as deep an interest in the spending of it. Suppose the industries in one State were more profitable than those in another. Do you think the laboring men in one State would be willing to give up some of the 'capital they produce,' to another State less prosperous?"

"Well, suppose the laboring men of the United States Steel Company, including the

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office force, were to divide up the profits, how would that look to you?"

For a few moments, I thought he would not answer, for he kept tapping, tapping, tapping that second finger of his on the table. Then he turned those keen eyes on me. "I can answer you only by taking you into my personal affairs. I dislike to do that, but have made up my mind to do so, for then it will not be based on theory, but on actual occurrence.

"I am in several businesses, but will take two, the elevation of grain, and drygoods. I have in each an investment of, elevator, \$490,000, drygoods, \$500,000. Each earns \$35,000, which is about 7 per cent. on the investment. In the elevator I employ ten men, while in the drygoods I employ five hundred.

"Now, on the theory that 'labor produces all,' and should take it, and that the capitalist is not needed, and that his property should be taken from him and given to those who made it, how do we now see it here? Why, my

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employees in the elevator would divide up \$35,000 profit among ten men, which is \$3,500 each, while the men employed in the drygoods business would divide up \$35,000 profit among five hundred, and get \$70 each." Then he turned and looked at me, saying, "Figure it out."

I said, "Well, give me a little time." I finally advised him that it seemed to me he had *taken the extremes*.

"No, I think not. Of course, there is a shading between these two businesses, but I took my business that I know about. I said so at the start."

"Yes, but is there any other business that you are familiar with?"

"Well, yes; I know something about railroads. This country had \$19,752,536,264 (capital stock \$8,622,400,821; funded debt \$11,130,135,443) invested in the railroads in 1912. They employed 1,716,380 persons. Those roads made \$352,275,162 in twelve months; so, if you should divide it between all

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the employees, they would receive \$205.24 each. This does not allow anything for the stockholders' interests; which amount to \$8,622,400,821. Some of these stockholders, no doubt, are laboring men. Should you allow them as low as 3 per cent., you would have only \$93,603,137 to divide between the employees, which would be \$58 each; so here we have the division each year of: elevator employees, \$3,500; drygoods employees, \$70; railroad employees, \$58. You see this could not be done or there would be trouble. The State, or some other authority, would have to take all that these people made in the various occupations, and divide it up in accordance with what they thought just.

“Now, I am aware that some Socialists will call this sort of argument foolish; but, as I said before, very many of them do not know any better, nor have they any sort of idea as to how it is going to work; neither do the most intelligent have any plan, nor will they tell

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you what they think a good one would be like. They virtually say, 'Don't cross the bridge before you come to it,' 'We have no definite plan.' In a general way, they dream about it. If you go to their lectures, you come away with a lot of history, most of which is stale, and with a heavy load on your heart for the suffering of humanity,—all of which the capitalists are held responsible for; and that stigma is the object they have in view."

"I see you are pretty well posted on railroads. What do you think of the Socialists' idea of government ownership?"

"I know you don't believe in government ownership. Why do you ask me about it?"

"Because I believe your opinion is worth a great deal to me, and so many differ on this point."

"I know. Well, I think it would be ridiculous—at least in this country, and likely to be for a great many years to come, and maybe forever—at least as long as we have control

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of the railroads as we have to-day. It is somewhat different in older countries, and especially in Germany. In Holland they have both systems, government ownership and private ownership, in order, I believe, that the government may have a check. I will give you my reasons why I do not believe in government ownership.

“Take the eight billion six hundred million dollars invested in railroad stocks outstanding in this country. Do you not think these stockholders are anxious for dividends? They are thinking of them all the time. They can criticise the management from the president down. The officers feel this, and are aware that their salaries depend on the earning power of their respective roads. They, in turn, not only think about this all day, but sometimes take it home with them. If the Government owned the railroads, who would the stockholders be? You and I, all of us. *Are most of us to-day thinking about the services the Govern-*

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ment is concerned in now—whether they pay or not?—Are *we* worrying as to whether the Parcel Post is making any money, or whether a private company could run it cheaper? Our municipal affairs,—how are they run? and why are we crying out for commission government?—No, my friend, it is not human to expect the same co-operation from the people who have only an indirect interest in anything as that which is given by the people having a direct interest. What is ‘everybody’s business is nobody’s business’ is an old but true saying.”

“Yes, but people say the stocks of the railroad are watered.”

“Well, suppose they are. Those who own the present stock have paid their good money for it, counting on a moderate dividend. But suppose this to be so, and that it forms a good reason for our country confiscating their property. Would it not be wiser for us, outside of the railroads, to legislate one half of

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their stock out of existence, and base our freight rates on the one half remaining? For then we should keep the personal element connected with the enterprise.”

“But how about other large companies—other utilities?”

“Same thing. Don’t forget these words—‘personal interest,’ ‘initiative,’ ‘struggle,’ ‘economy’; for these, although not wholly absent from the Government, are not very active.”

“Don’t you think people get a false idea of what they would receive if we had a socialistic government?”

“Let me tell you what the facts show at the present time. Last year the income (as shown by income tax returns) of approximately 357,600 people of the United States was \$4,000,000,000. This came from those receiving \$3,500 and over per year; or, in other words, if the \$4,000,000,000 had been divided equally, each of the 357,600 would

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have received \$1,118,568. Now suppose we take the 357,600 people and grade them all down to \$3,500 each per year; they would have altogether \$1,251,600,000, which deducted from \$4,000,000,000 would leave \$2,748,400,000. Let us divide this \$2,748,400,000 among the people of the United States equally. Say there are 20,000,000 families (five to the family); each family would then get \$137.42, or \$27.48 per head per year; so you can add \$137.42 (if you have a family) to your income, or, if single, \$27.48, and so can also the 357,600 whom we have reduced to \$3,500. So, as far as we can now see, all this agitation of the Socialists is for this \$137.42 per family, or \$27.48 per head per year, which they propose to get by government ownership, or by confiscation. Of course, the \$2,748,400,000 would not be divided equally, but by the ratio, the salary or pay received by each; so, of course, the less pay the less the amount they would receive.

"We cannot make any other deductions

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for lack of statistics, and here is where our government falls down. *Every person in these United States should pay an income tax*, no matter how small his income. Then we would have a basis for future comparison. For instance, if we knew what the gross income was from all sources, we might then say what would happen if every one received \$1,000 per year, etc. Suppose we could compel the 357,600 to accept an income of \$3,500 per year. You may speculate on what would happen. If you still feel inclined to speculate, suppose all were put on a \$1,000 per year basis."

"Have you made other calculations? If you have, I wish you would give me the benefit of your thoughts, for I have speculated but very little—have not looked at the subject in the way you have."

"Well, if you are really so much interested, I may say if we should reduce the above 357,600 persons from \$3,500 per year to \$1,500

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per year, that would be a reduction of \$2,000 for each; multiplied by 357,600 it would equal \$715,200,000. Now, let us say that there would be 400,000 more people getting on an average \$2,500 per year. Let us also reduce these to \$1,500 per year; that would be a reduction of \$1,000 each; multiplied by 400,000 people, it would equal \$400,000,000. Add this to the \$715,200,000; it would equal \$1,115,200,000. Let us now take our 20,000,000 families in the United States as before, and divide it among them, and we have \$1,115,200,000 divided by 20,000,000 families; this equals \$55.75, which you may add to the former calculation in my previous answer to your question, which you remember was \$137.42 per family, and you have a total of, say \$137.42 plus \$55.75; equal to \$193.17 as a total for each family; so that a laborer at the head of a family, who receives now \$640 per year, would then get \$193.17 additional, or \$833.17 per year, and the rich and the others would have \$193.17

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added to their \$1,500, making a total of \$1,693.17 for them.

"You asked me 'what would happen if all were reduced to \$3,500 ?' Now, I suppose you would like to know also how it would be if all were reduced to \$1,500, or after you have added the \$193.17—making a total of \$1,693.17 for one class and \$833.17 for the other?

"As you see, we have divided all the profits and part of the salaries in the United States, and those who have large incomes would have to change their mode of living. New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, etc., would not then be in the condition they are in to-day. Of course, this profit would not be the same (if any were made). It would be widely distributed; but do you speculate; you can do it better than I."

"I should say the extravagance of the many would be vastly greater than the extravagance of the smaller number, and that if based on economics, it would be a retrograde movement.

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"One thing would be certain, I think, and that is, that *there would be no profits to divide if the Government ran the business of this country!*"

"I wish you would take a look into the future. What do you think is going to happen? Have you given the subject any special thought?"

"Yes, I have thought quite a little of what Karl Marx has said about a 'Communistic Revolution' (our late Socialistic writers say Karl Marx was really a Socialist). That will never come; or if it should come it will be like all the other past revolutions, in the sense that it will not eliminate the poor laboring class. Whatever it is that prevents the uplifting of that class, we have not as yet been able to discover, or, even if so, to find a remedy. If by some means one could revolutionize man's nature, there would be a better prospect; but, just as soon as you touch a man's pocketbook or his selfish nature, then there is

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trouble. The strong will always dominate the weak, not numerically, but intelligently. This will be only history repeating itself. In some way, and by some means, all men must feel for and sympathize with one another before a better day may dawn. There must be something more than the physical affecting the moral. Is it not pitiable to contemplate man's blindness and his reaching out for light?"

"Why, do you know what time it is? It is half-past eleven."

"That so! I must apologize for keeping you up so late, but I became so absorbed in what I was saying, I did not realize the time. We must retire."

The next morning he inquired when I was coming to New York again. I said I should probably be down in about a month. He invited me to stay over night with him again, "for," he said, "you have wound me up and I want to run down."

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The time rolled around quickly, and I was again at his home. (I did not intend to introduce you to his family, but I do not wish to leave the impression that he had none. His family consisted of his wife and two boys; of these the elder resembled the mother and the younger the father. Their ages were thirty-three and thirty. They were in their father's service. Both were strong, sturdy, active, and intelligent.)

After dinner we went into the library. I at once started the conversation. "I am very anxious to hear what you think of the eight-hour day."

He began again tapping with his second finger. "You may think it strange, but I have the interests of the men in our employ on my mind more than you probably would think. I can't tell you why, but maybe we had better call it a brotherly feeling. The Socialists probably would laugh at that, but it is the best definition I can give. If they

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claim it is selfish, I trust they will consider their own selfishness.

“We tried the eight-hour-a-day proposition, and we did not see much difference in the out-turn, and the men did not seem to appreciate the change; but I think it is a good thing, and should be enacted into a law that would cover all kinds of employment. It certainly is a step in the right direction, for it would give the people some time in which to educate themselves in various ways, and would let up on the wear and tear of the nerves. The main reason for discontinuing it was the competition in other States. Men were working there ten hours a day. We had on our payroll twelve hundred employees, whose average wage was \$2.50 per day, so that a cut from ten to eight hours meant fifty cents per person, which for us amounted to \$600 per day, or \$180,000 per year. We couldn’t stand it, for we were losing money. We kept it up for six months in hopes that our competitors would see the jus-

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tice of it, and do likewise, but they did not. Now, as I said before, I believe in the eight-hour-a-day work based on ten hours' pay, but a *federal* law should be enacted instead of a State law, for then all engaged in similar occupations would be on the same basis. I believe the older the country becomes, the more we shall realize that we have, in certain things, outgrown the statehood period, when business was conducted on a small scale, and trade was carried on within the boundaries of the same State in which the individual or company found customers. *Interstate* means a bigger, broader field, and therefore a bigger, broader administration. Of course, in reducing the hours of labor we must take into consideration the labor of foreign countries; for now we pay much more than they do, and if we cannot produce as cheaply on an eight-hour basis we shall handicap ourselves when competing for foreign trade, and this may shut down some of our factories, and by so doing throw a great

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many out of employment. It seems very easy to talk about paying higher wages, shorter hours, etc., but there is a deep, underlying economic question that must be taken into consideration."

"I am glad you have tried the eight-hour day, and know for certain the results. You said something about brotherly feeling. What do you mean by that?"

"Well, I have tried profit-sharing, and that didn't work. I was manufacturing under a secret process; I paid big wages and put into effect the profit-sharing scheme, thinking the men would feel more interested in the business. I assisted my foreman to buy a home. This is what happened: My son was superintending the plant. One day the foreman became very much enraged over a trifling matter, and he threatened my son in a frightful manner, and with very abusive language. I at once informed the foreman that he must apologize or give up his place. He refused to apologize.

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He was discharged, and all the men, every one, walked out. I settled with them and paid up their profits. I ascertained later that these men went to work at a much lower wage, and, of course, lost the profits I was paying them. In about a month the foreman came to me, saying he was very sorry, and asked to be taken back. I reinstated him. That was about fifteen years ago, and he is working for me still. I did not understand then why these men gave up their places, nor do I now. At the time it damaged my business and caused quite a loss, for I had to break in new men to a secret process."

"Have you tried to help your men in any other way?"

"Yes, in the elevating of grain. We have what are known as *scoopers*. These are men who scoop or shovel the grain in the vessel when unloading. These men do not work very hard, but their work is very dusty. The 'boss-scooper' always kept a saloon, where

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the men were supposed to drink. Each week their money was paid *to the boss*, and he deducted what they owed him for drinks, and paid them the balance. At times this balance amounted to very little, for the men were in the habit of 'treating,' and, of course, drank too much as a result of drink being so convenient. In the winter their families would suffer on account of the little money the scoopers had saved from their wages. I noticed this, and finally determined to employ a boss who did not have a saloon. I did so, and built a shanty on the grounds near the elevator, placing in it a keg which I ordered filled with gruel, well iced. I also furnished cards, dominoes, and other games to play when they were waiting for vessels. This kept them from the saloon almost entirely.

"In about a week the former boss-scooper came to me and pleaded for the place. I told him frankly I had made up my mind not to employ a boss-scooper who was a saloon-

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keeper, and explained my reasons. He went away, but in a few days came back with the alderman of the ward, who did the talking. He said that —— had sold his saloon to a friend, so would I now give him the place. I finally decided not to do so, which seemed to provoke the alderman, for it was votes he wanted—not the good of the boss-scooper. In about a week I received a call from three assessors. They talked over the same ground, and finally said, 'You had better reinstate the boss-scooper.' I was provoked and replied that I had made up my mind to keep the boss-scooper I had, for he was a sober man, and never owned a saloon. That winter I was presented with a paper on which were written, by women, words of thankfulness for what I had done, and stating that they had received about all the wages from their husbands, and were very happy. These were the wives of the scoopers.

"In all other elevators each had a boss-

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scooper who owned a saloon. My experiment started a campaign against the saloon boss, which was carried on by a Catholic priest, whom I learned greatly to respect. He was responsible for the rule that no money should be paid to the scoopers in saloons; and to-day, after many years, the money is paid near the elevators, and away from the saloon. This Catholic priest gave his time and great effort to the cause of humanity without any reward that I know of."

"That is very interesting. The wives must have been happy. Do you care to tell me of anything else?"

"I think not. I want to say, however, that *I am not alone in thoughtfulness for employees*. I could tell you of almost all my friends who are doing what they can, and are anxious to hear of any new plan. I will make a prediction, and that is that this world will become better and more humane, and the 'capitalists' will assist in bringing it about. I

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may say my son asked me if he could start a welfare work among the employees in one of our factories. I said to him, 'Yes, certainly.' So you see good works are infectious."

"What kind of welfare work is your son doing?"

"He is advised of the condition of our workmen. We do not offer assistance unless the men are anxious for it. I will give you an instance. Just before we started this work, one of the men slipped on a piece of ice and sprained his foot. He continued working until he was compelled to go to a doctor. This doctor took all of the two hundred dollars he had saved. He next went to the General Hospital, where he stayed two weeks. He received no relief there. Then he had to go to work, for his family was in sore distress. At this time we had started the welfare work, and found this case. Our man suggested osteopathic treatment. It was really pitiful to

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see this strong man walk by the aid of a cane. He had been compelled to take a subordinate position in our factory on account of his trouble. This man was taken to the osteopath, who told him that he could be cured, but it would be necessary to 'break down' the foot, as one joint was riding on the other. This was done, and after a few treatments he threw away his cane, and a happier man it were hard to find. He says he will never forget the kindness shown him."

"That sounds good to me. I hope you may be of more service. What do you think of the future of this country?

"Something unusual is about to happen in the next one or two decades. It does not take much of a philosopher to foresee that. I am enough of an optimist to predict that *it is going to be well with us*. Invention has about reached its limits. We navigate under water, and travel and soar above our earth; there is not much room left for improvement.

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Think of the wonderful inventions during the last half century, crowding one on the other in such rapid succession. The mind of man is not satiated, but ever ready to turn its attention to other fields. *One field is to be the brotherhood of man.* The forerunner is temperance, which is advancing not only in this country but abroad. Man is always seeking the ideal, but most of us do not want to be called idealists. We have sought the ideal in wars, we have sought it in art, we have sought it in religion, we have sought it in invention. Now, we are going to seek it in goodness, in brotherhood; and, through it all, the heart will rejoice and sing for joy.

"The art of music will increase. It is the art that has the greatest power next to love, the mightiest of all. It is the art that does not satiate the soul, but is always sweet, pure, and fresh; the art that is never old, but always new; the art that lives in all nations and is *not the respecter of tongues*; the art that can-

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not live with hate, but is at its best with love."

THE BIG MEN

The big men dare, and the big men do.
They dream great dreams, which they make come true:
They bridge the rivers and link the plains,
And gird the land with their railway trains;
They make the desert break forth in bloom,
They send the cataract through a flume
To turn the wheels of a thousand mills,
And bring the coin to a nation's tills.
The big men work, and the big men plan,
And, helping themselves, help their fellowman.
And the cheap men yelp at their carriage wheels,
As the small dogs bark at the big dogs' heels.
The big men sow while the cheap men sleep,
And when they go to their fields to reap,
The cheap men cry, "We must have a share
Of all the grain that they harvest there!
These men are pirates who sow and reap,
And plan and build while we are asleep!
We'll legislate till they lose their hair!
We'll pass new laws that will strip them bare!
We'll tax them right and we'll tax them left,
Till of their plunder they are bereft;
We'll show these men that we all despise
Their skill, their courage, and enterprise!"

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So the small men yap at the big men's heels,
The fake reformer with uplift spiels;
The four-eyed dreamers with theories fine,
Which bring them maybe three cents a line;
The tin-horn grafters who always yearn
To collar coin that they do not earn.
And the big men sigh as they go their way:
"They'll balk at the whole blamed thing some day!"

—Walt Mason.

*The Stability
of a Republic Rests on the
Morality and Intelligence
of the Voters.*

THE FARMER

CHAPTER VI

THE FARMER

IN THE year 1907 two Norwegians came to this country. They had read and were told of the Utopia, "the land that flows with milk and honey," a land where fortunes could be picked up by everybody. For a year they had thought the whole thing over, and finally concluded to take a chance. The names of the two Norwegians were Einar Malstad and Ole Binder. They were alike as two peas. They were rather short, stocky, "well put up," light hair and light complexion. Both of one age—thirty-six years old. It seems rather strange that both families were composed of two girls and two boys of about the same ages. The wives were not so nearly alike as their husbands, but both had the light hair and

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complexion. They were of a cheerful, happy, sunny disposition. At times they worked in the field with the family, besides taking charge of their own household affairs.

Finally, the long-looked-for day for their departure arrived. Gathering up their light possessions in sacks, or tying them in a ticking by bringing the four corners together, sending some of their household goods by freight, bidding their friends a last good-bye, they sailed from Hamburg for America.

The habits of these two men were somewhat different. Einar was very fond of reading. Both could read and speak English fairly well, but Ole did not have a taste for reading. He was very fond of his pipe, and was very happy when in companionship of his kind—a social, good-hearted, good-natured fellow. Einar did not care to smoke, but was good-natured, fond of companionship, and was always ready for an argument. During the voyage they had plenty of time to occupy

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themselves as best suited their tastes. While Ole was having a good time smoking, Einar was searching for literature about America, of which there was a liberal supply. At times he would enter into an argument as to the best sort of grain adapted to the new country, what quantity to sow to the acre, the best feed for the cattle, and how to construct the best and cheapest shelter for them. He would sit by Ole and tell him what he had read, which had the effect of stimulating Ole to read for a time, but it was spasmodic.

One day, after the noon meal, when they were sitting alone, the sun was sending its cheerful rays on the deck; Ole had just lit his pipe. He said to Einar, "Why don't you smoke? My, you don't know what pleasure you're missing!"

"Yes, I know what you mean, for I have passed through the same experience, but I found, by carefully watching myself, that when I did not smoke, I felt less tired after work;

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that when I had to hurry all day to get my hay in, working hard until I couldn't see, the next day I seemed as good as ever."

"Oh, nonsense! That's your imagination. I, too, have worked as you say you have, and felt, the next morning, as fresh as a colt."

"Well, I'm not going to argue on a subject where I know neither of us can convince the other, but one thing I do know—my pocket-book feels better."

The voyage soon came to an end, and after passing quarantine they landed in New York. They had some very exciting times in New York, but it would be taking up too much space to relate them here. It is sufficient to say that on account of the reading Einar did on shipboard the party came through the ordeal in good shape and not with an undue expenditure of money. After purchasing their tickets for Minneapolis, they started on their long journey. In two days and nights they arrived. From here they went to Grand

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Forks, North Dakota, where they entered into negotiations with a real estate company for farm lands in the State, west of that place. After a few days of discussion they concluded to look over several pieces on the Great Northern Railroad. The families were to stay at Grand Forks until they returned. They occupied their time by visiting the University of North Dakota (it has a library of 25,000 bound volumes and 5,000 pamphlets), the St. Bernard Ursuline Academy, and the Grand Forks College. They also visited the Public Library, and admired the other large buildings.

After about a week they returned. Two sections of land were selected, one for each (a section is 640 acres); these were opposite. The section road ran between; a brook passed back of each section, which gave water for their stock all the year. When this country was first settled it had been planted with timber, so they had an ample supply for firewood.

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I was about to tell you the name of the village near which these farms were located, but I do not wish to embarrass these men by any publicity; I will say the land is located nearer the western boundary of the State than the eastern. They spent about a week in selecting household necessaries, farm utensils, and groceries. Then they started for their home. After arriving at the town, they awaited the arrival of their goods, which they transferred to the farms. They also purchased in town two teams of horses each and some cattle. For some of these it was necessary to give their notes, and some they acquired on credit. On each of these farms there were rather poor houses and miserable outbuildings; but what matter? Were they not going to make their fortunes, and were they not young, happy, and full of life? It simply was "loads of fun." If you knew them as I knew them, it would not be necessary for me to write these lines. I wish I could tell you all about these very

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interesting families, but I am concerned only with the men and I have not the space.

The first year did not yield a very bounteous harvest, for there were many things to be done, but the second year told. They had many an argument as to the best method to follow, but somehow Einar had more bushels of wheat, corn, oats, and rye than Ole. In some way, his house and outbuildings began to take on a thrifty appearance, while Ole's, although improved, did not look as well.

One day Ole came over to Einar's farm, where he was busy repairing an old wagon. "Oh, Einar, I see you have been whitewashing your horse-and-cow stable. What did you do that for? It's just throwing away money. What good is it, anyway?"

"Why, really I can't tell you exactly, but in some sort o' a way it makes me happy. It kind o' makes me feel like whistling—maybe assists my digestion. And if a fellow has good digestion, I calculate he can do more work."

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"There you go again! My digestion is good enough, Lord only knows. I know I don't throw time and money away like that."

"All right, but if I am particular in one thing am I not likely to be in another? And I'll be blamed if I don't think the cows give more milk in a whitewashed barn than they would in one not whitewashed."

"Look here, you make me tired. You're always reading, reading all the nonsense the agricultural papers have to say, and you believe it all. I read them, too, but sort o' skim them over. I tell you, too much time is taken in reading. It doesn't pay. Well, 'so long.' Want to go to town to-night?"

"Yes, Ole. I'll be over after you at seven."

"Yes. All right."

That evening they went to town, Ole smoking his pipe and Einar doing most of the talking. When they reached the town, Ole said he had to buy some vinegar, pork, and eggs,

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saying he didn't know what was the matter with his hens.

"That's too bad," said Einar. "We have had all the eggs we could use, and had chickens to kill, and last year we made cider, some of which we kept for vinegar. Why don't you raise your own pork? And it costs almost nothing to feed chickens."

"Oh, you make me tired. You're so blamed practical. I can make more raising grain than fooling with those little things. That's on a par with your whitewashing business," and here he indulged in a hearty laugh, in which Einar joined.

After they had visited at the general store and were about "talked out," they went home. Things proceeded in this manner. Einar's house and outbuildings had been painted. A new barn made its appearance. Ole had painted, but had not increased his buildings. In the winter of the year 1911 Einar went, one evening, over to Ole's house. After they

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had greeted each other and seated themselves by the cheerful fire, Einar said to Ole: "I've been reading a great deal about flaxseed in the 'Press Bulletin' of the North Dakota Agricultural Experimental Station. I read an old bulletin, No. 23, that I ran across, which made me hungry for others, so I sent for them and got Nos. 39 to 47. Let me read you just a few lines of No. 39, December, 1910:

"The high price of flaxseed and of its various by-products, associated with the effects of the great drought which has occurred in the flaxseed-growing regions of America, tends to make the question of cropping of flax one of extreme interest."

"After reading all these bulletins, I have come to the conclusion that there is good money to be made by a fellow with brains. Now, I'm going to put in two hundred acres this spring. Will you do the same?"

"Well, Einar, let me see. There's that field of corn stubble—can't put it in there. No,

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neither can I on that oat field. I can take two hundred acres of that wheat field, however, if you think I can get more out of flax; but see here, hold on! Where do you get the seed to sow?"

"Why, you can buy it from the elevator, I think."

"Yes, but I haven't got the money. Haven't paid up all my note for last year's seed."

"Well, I have a thousand dollars in the bank I have saved. I'll let you have enough to buy what you need, which will be—let me see—one half bushel to the acre for two hundred acres is one hundred bushels. Think you'll have to pay two to two and a half dollars per bushel for it. That will be about two hundred and fifty dollars. You're welcome to it."

"Well, now, that is fine of you. You're always looking out for the fellow that's down—but still, I'm not down, only I haven't as much money as you have. But one of these days

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you'll get a slap from some one that will hurt, for they are not all honest in this world."

"Yes, but Ole is, and he is the fellow I'm talking to now. What do you say?"

"All right. I will do it."

The seed was purchased and paid for and stored in their barns. Spring came, the lands were prepared to receive the seed. Some time before this, Einar went over to Ole's to see him about the seed.

"You know, Ole, those bulletins I told you I have read about flax?"

"Yes."

"Well, I have purchased a force pump for spraying the seed, which you may use also if you like. Let me read what the bulletin says. You know, they claim you should destroy any germs that may be on the flaxseed before seeding. You know there are a lot of precautions you should take, such as sowing the seed at the proper depth, pulling the weeds in the crop as they appear in the summer, and har-

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vesting at the right date. You should cut with binder whenever possible, thresh it at the first opportunity after bolls become dry, and conduct a long series of rotation on your farm. You should not think of sowing flaxseed more than once in five years on the same land. Then, there is advice about preparing the seed bed, how to treat new land and old land, about the variety of soil, date of seeding, rate of seeding, seed selection and grading and the like; but let me read you about spraying: 'Treat the seed with formaldehyde, using the standard quality, at the rate of sixteen ounces to forty gallons of water. Use a spray pump which will throw a forceful, misty spray.' Here, I won't read it all. You take it and read it to-night."

"Well, that's the rankest thing I ever heard. No, thanks. Keep your bulletin. I've heard enough. Why, I have sown flaxseed in the old country. I guess these Americans can't teach me anything new. You just wait."

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"Yes, but this bulletin says your land might be 'sick,' and this formaldehyde will prevent it attacking the seed."

"Ah, ha! Too rich. I guess you're sick, or if you keep on much longer, you will make me sick."

"All right, but don't blame me."

The seed went in. The pieces of land were opposite one another, separated only by the section road. The summer passed, harvest time came. Ole was impatient to cut his when the bolls were not just right; in places the flax looked yellow, no doubt on account of fungi. He did not use a binder, because he could not wait for one, did not thresh it at the right time, lost some by heating, and finally turned out a yield of six bushels per acre.

Einar watched carefully to see that everything the bulletin said was carried out. He had a beautiful "stand" (height of flax), very much higher than Ole's on account of being free of fungi. When his flax was threshed it

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turned out twelve and a half bushels to the acre.

Ole was anxious to pay his obligation to Einar, so he sold his flax, amounting to twelve hundred bushels, at \$1.25 per bushel, equaling \$1,500, and after paying his note he had \$1,250 left.

Einar had read that an extra price could be obtained for flaxseed that had been treated by formaldehyde, and raised on soil free of fungi, so he concluded to hold his until the next spring, and sell it for seed. He notified the North Dakota Agricultural Experimental Station, and they put him in touch with men that were willing to pay \$2.50 per bushel. His crop figured out like this: Two hundred acres at twelve and a half bushels per acre equals twenty-five hundred bushels, and at \$2.50 per bushel, equals \$6,250, while Ole had only \$1,500, so that Einar received \$4,750 more than Ole.

Some time after this Einar met Ole. "Ole,

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come over to-night. You haven't been to my house for some time."

"Very well. I'll be over about seven."

At the given time Ole came. This evening was one of that forty degrees below zero kind. The sides of the old, square-box wood stove were of a cherry heat, and even at that the place was none too comfortable. This room was used as a dining-room and sitting-room. After supper the square wooden table was covered with a red and white squared tablecloth that looked like a checker-board. These families seemed to like to "rock," so in each home there were two rockers, ample in size, with those long rockers that make one move slowly. After greeting each other, they seated themselves in these rockers, near enough to the stove to be comfortable. After Ole had lighted his pipe, he said: "You know John Johnson, the fellow that has that home-stead of a hundred and sixty acres on the hill west of the town, don't you?"

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“Yes, I’ve met him. He seems always to act as if he did not like those who were getting along. I think he does not care for me.”

“Well, I will tell you, he seems to me to be a man of a good deal of sense. He has read a good deal on Socialism. He says things are not equal, that he has not had a fair chance, and that if he had, he would be in much better shape.”

“But, they say he is the fellow that came here ten years ago, and took out his homestead on that hill that has about as poor land as any around here.”

“Yes, that may be so. He told me he might have had part of the land you have if he had wanted it, for that was open to homesteaders at the time he came, for he has an idea the reason you have such good crops is your luck in selecting the land.”

“But why did he go way up on that hill?”

“Oh, he says he was so impressed with the view of the beautiful country he could see

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from there, and also he thought every one around would some day say, 'Who lives there? That is a beautiful place. He must have a grand view of the country.' He did not pay so much attention to the quality of the soil, and do you know, the ground is not so bad after all."

"I noticed he did not have sufficient buildings to cover his farming implements, and they looked bad and weather-beaten."

"Yes, but he is a reader."

With this remark, Ole looked at Einar with a twinkle in his eye, and both laughed heartily.

"Oh, yes, but it is not of the kind that makes our farms 'blossom like the rose.'"

"Do you know, Einar, you are right. That fellow does not like you. He says you are altogether too industrious, that you are grasping, that you are not any smarter than any one else, only it was your luck to get a splendid piece of land, really the best around here."

"You know better, don't you? When we

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came here it was a tough job for both of us, and many a time we thought we had made a great mistake in locating so far from town, and on such rough ground. You know what work it has taken to get this ground in any sort of condition. Of course, now it looks different, and certainly is doing well, but the fellows that took out these homesteads were anything but good farmers, and we have had to pay for their permitting the land to get in such condition."

"Yes, you're right. I was only telling you what he said, but he has heard what you got for your flaxseed, and he says *you charged too much for it*. You know, he seems to have good arguments to support his theory."

Einar was silent for some time. He seemed to realize that somehow his old friend was taking sides with this man, and he could not understand it. Finally he said: "That sort of reasoning is beyond me. Here we are in this United States, and have taken out our

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citizens' papers and sworn to protect this beautiful country. We want to bring up our children so they will be good citizens. We should give them a good education, for that is the best for them. It is 'up to us' to do it."

"Well, of course, our children should be educated, but Johnson says this land should all be under control of the Government, so that all would have an equal chance—that it is not right for one man to have so much more than another."

"Do you believe that sort of doctrine?"

"It looks reasonable for him to have as much as his neighbor, does it not?"

"Now, really, how can you think so? Do you suppose I would have exerted myself by struggling, reading, planning, working late and early—my wife and children helping me at times? Do you think I would have stayed awake nights, worrying about my crops and planning what to sow and when? Do you think I would have written to the United

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States Agricultural Experimental Station, so I might know where to sell my seed to the best advantage? Do you think I would have given up smoking and all other luxuries for the general good? Do you think my wife would forego the pleasure of dressing better and clothing the children so they would look more attractive, *just for the public?*"

"Well, Einar, I think I see your side, and I don't know that I blame you, but Johnson says the country needs men like you to help along, that you would have a lot of glory, and maybe a wreath would be placed on your head, or words to that effect."

"Yes, I suppose so, but you know Johnson has very little sense. He loves to frequent the saloon. I know he doesn't drink too much, but that is the way some of his money goes. He is shiftless, is not neat in his dress, and has but very little ambition."

"Yes, but he says you have six hundred and forty acres of land and he has but one hundred

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and sixty acres, and asks me if I think that is fair."

"Now, John Johnson is John Johnson, and I am Einar Malstad. He is his own self, and does as he sees fit. He enjoys himself as he thinks best, spends his money and time to his own liking, reads all the books he can on Socialism. Can you say that I have not the same right? Why should Johnson find fault with me? I haven't spoken to him. We are made differently. Would it not be better for him to blame his Maker, for I certainly had nothing to do with making him."

"You seem to have good logic, but in some way Johnson puts it so cleverly one feels he is right. I wonder if it is my sympathy for the fellow that is behind it all."

"Maybe it is, but misplaced sympathy is apt to do a lot of harm, for we are told that 'Man must earn his bread by the sweat of his face,' and all nature shows 'the survival of the fittest.'"

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"See here, don't you think I worked as hard as you did? Didn't I put that flax in at your wish? Still you got \$4,750 more for your crop than I did."

"Yes, that's so, but you didn't follow the advice of the Experimental Station, don't you remember? And, besides, don't you think that ideas are worth anything?"

"Ideas? Yes and no—sometimes yes and sometimes no."

Ole was getting a little peevish, had rocked so fast and strenuously that he came bump against the stove, which put an end to his answer. Both rocked forward and back, their shadows running up and down the side of the room.

Finally, Einar spoke: "Do you think, Ole, if you had got the \$4,750 more than I did, you would have come to me and offered me part or half?"

Without a moment's hesitation, he said, "Yes, I would."

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Then there was a long, long pause. At last Einar said: "Do you know, you make me feel like a terribly mean fellow, and yet, when I think of the love and feeling I have always had for you, how I lent you money to buy the flaxseed, and tried my best to assist you in getting a good crop, my conscience tells me Ole is mistaken."

"Still, I feel differently since I have heard Johnson talk, and whatever it is that has come into my heart I cannot say, but it makes me uncomfortable. I know you have accommodated me often, but Johnson says that's what we're put here for."

"Well, I hope I can be of service to you and you may be of service to me. Let us at least remain friends."

Ole stood up to go, but his face did not have the usual pleasant, friendly look as in former visits. He turned, extended his hand, saying, "Good-night; hope to see you to-morrow."

Two or three days passed. Einar was busy

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in his barn (I have forgotten what he was doing), when, with a bang, open went the barn door and in blew Ole and a cloud of snow. "Whew, but this is a blizzard that *is* one."

"Hello, Ole, how are you?"

"Oh, so-so. Do you know, I never saw such a driving snowstorm and such fierce cold. Wasn't it cold night before last?"

"I should say it was. I thought my stock would suffer, but seemingly they have not."

"Did you hear that Johnson lost one of his horses?"

"No. Is that so?"

"Yes. I was told he went to town, and forgot to put in his blankets. He stayed in one of the stores and became so interested in conversation that he forgot it was so cold. They say the horse was chilled through."

"I'm mighty sorry for him."

"Do you know, Einar, every time I come in this whitewashed barn of yours, I have a cozy

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feeling. It seems so cheerful, and see, it is quite dark outside, but in here, quite light."

"Yes, it makes a difference on days like this or on rainy days."

"What have you piled up in those bags back there?"

Einar laughed. "Oh, I have some choice seeds; the best is some oats. I read about oats that were a big yielder and weighed forty-eight pounds to the bushel, so I sent for them."

"Do you mean to say forty-eight pounds to the bushel? Why, our oats last year weighed only thirty-four pounds, and you know we had a fine stand."

"Yes, I know it, but you just look at this." They walked over to the pile of bags, and Einar pulled a bag down and opened it. "How's that?" he said, as he passed Ole a handful.

"Well, if that isn't immense! I wouldn't have believed it, and it is so plump. Why, it looks almost like wheat. Can I get some?"

"No, this is all they had, but I tell you,

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there is enough to sow forty acres. I will let you have enough for ten acres if you would like it."

"Are you sure you want to spare that?"

"Certainly. Now, I'll tell you what I'm going to do. I ran across a book by Luther Burbank, and he says 'raise your own seed, and be sure to pick out the best. This you can do by marking out the place in the field where the stand is the best, and the color shows a strong and vigorous growth.' These are not his words, but only as I remember them. So I am going to follow his advice. Will you?"

"Why, certainly. That looks reasonable. What under the sun is that old tin nailed on the platform the bags are on?"

"That is some old tin I had lying around. You see, I've made this platform to rest on two twelve-inch timbers, so the platform will be one foot above the floor, and this tin nailed, as you see, so it extends or sticks out eight

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inches beyond the platform, prevents the rats from climbing up and eating holes in my bags and devouring the seed grain."

"Well, they say you 'beat the Dutch,' although you happen to be a Norwegian. What you don't think of isn't worth thinking about." At this remark both laughed heartily.

"I will keep the oats here, Ole, until spring, if you say so."

"Thanks ever so much."

After some further conversation Ole bid Einar "so long," and went home.

I saw Einar some few years later, and he told me he then owned nine hundred and sixty acres of land, his children were all in school, and that his eldest son was preparing for college. I do not remember seeing a finer specimen of a Norwegian—the picture of health and happiness.

I cannot follow these men any further only to say that Ole became a strong Socialist, and he finally called Einar a capitalist and robber,

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because, he said, he charged too much for his flaxseed for seeding, that he took it out of the poor farmers who needed it more than he did, and some of them were poorly fixed. So these friends became bitter enemies, and Ole would not speak to Einar.

It is Ole's flaxseed I want to follow still further. *He* got \$1.25 per bushel for it. This amount and what he got from the balance of his farm gave him about enough to support his family, after paying interest on notes and taxes. This flaxseed was shipped to Duluth, and sold for \$1.50 per bushel, the freight being 25 cents per bushel. Finally the flaxseed reached Buffalo, costing the mill there \$1.58 per bushel. The seed was crushed and made into linseed oil, and the by-product called "oil-cake."

The men working in that mill got the wages usual for such employment. The proprietor, whom the Socialists would call a capitalist, organized an office force, bought the seed, sold

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the oil and oil-cake, the former in America, the latter in Holland. The oil-cake brought 54 cents a bushel, and the oil \$1.35, making a total of \$1.89. Cost of seed \$1.58 plus 30 cents for working, making \$1.88, left one cent per bushel profit which, on the yearly quantity worked, five million bushels, gave a profit of \$50,000 on the investment.

In this instance, the manufacturer got all he could in a competitive market for both his oil and oil-cake, while Ole sold his flax for what he could get. The profits were their pay for their labor. The reason Ole did not receive more profit was because he received all he was worth. If a manufacturer ran without profit, then he would be of no value. If he ran at a loss, he would soon seek some other occupation; and, as there are more failures in business than successes, this is going on all the time.

Now, the claim is made that the laborers produce all the wealth. Let us admit, for the

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sake of argument, that the laborers are the men that work in this factory or mill at manual labor, using the machinery. The claim is made that the machinery belongs to them because labor (?) produced it. Most all the workingmen in this mill are foreigners, so they could not claim that their own country laboring men produced it. And suppose that the laboring men who produced the machinery were dead; do these laboring men now living claim it by inheritance? Why is it not as fair that those having the legal right by inheritance should own it? Take this profit of one cent per bushel which the manufacturer claims is his labor profit (or anything one wants to call it). Why does it belong to the laboring men at the mill? Why should not Ole, the one who first produced the seed, have the one cent per bushel, or the men working for the railroad over which the seed was transferred, or the steamboat workmen of the boat on which it was shipped?

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The trouble with this whole socialistic business is that God did not see fit to make men equal, and man cannot do what God has not cared to do. If you could have a God on earth who would act as a father, then probably things might be different, but the attempt to regulate the value of a man's service by a body of men egotistical, unequal physically, unequal in brain power, of unequal environment, unlike in religion and in passions, is a demand for a miracle. The incentive for our best men to put forth all their energy would largely be lost, and that certainly would be maladroit. A far better way would be to keep talent at its most productive point and regulate it in a way that I shall attempt to show later.

THE THINKER

Back of the beating hammer
By which the steel is wrought,
Back of the workshop's clamor
The seeker may find the Thought,—
The Thought that is ever master
Of iron and steam and steel,
That rises above disaster
And tramples it under heel!

The drudge may fret and tinker
Or labor with dusty blows,
But back of him stands the Thinker,
The clear-eyed man who Knows;
For into each plow or saber
Each piece and part and whole,
Must go the Brains of Labor,
Which give the work a soul!

Back of the motor's humming,
Back of the belts that sing,
Back of the hammer's drumming,
Back of the cranes that swing,
There is the eye which scans them
Watching through stress and strain,

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There is the Mind which plans them—
Back of the brawn the Brain!

Might of the roaring boiler,
Force of the engine's thrust,
Strength of the sweating toiler—
Greatly in these we trust;
But back of them stands the Schemer
The Thinker who drives things through;
Back of the Job—the Dreamer
Who makes the dream come true!

—*Berton Braley.*

*The Stability
of a Republic Rests on the
Morality and Intelligence
of the Voters*

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CHAPTER VII

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

A REPUBLIC is “a state in which the sovereignty resides in the people, and the administration is lodged in officers elected by and representing the people; a representative democracy.” “A democracy is a political system in which government is exercised directly by the people collectively; government by the people.”—*Students’ Dictionary*.

The varieties of republics have been, and are, many, but there were not until recently republics such as we have here in the United States, where the rights of all men are equal. I believe it will be well to make room here for the Declaration of Independence. It may do us all good to read it again, as our first great resentment of too much government control.

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THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

“When in the Course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure those rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the

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People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former System of Government. The history of the present

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King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

“He had refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

“He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

“He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

“He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant

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from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

“He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

“He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

“He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

“He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

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“He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

“He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

“He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the consent of our Legislature.

“He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

“He has combined with others (that is, with the lords and commons of Britain) to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

“For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

“For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they

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should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

“For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

“For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

“For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of Trial by jury:

“For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

“For abolishing the free system of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

“For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

“For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

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"He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection, and waging War against us.

"He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

"He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & Perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

"He has constrained our Fellow-Citizens taken captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

"He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare

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is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

“In every stage of these Oppressions, We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms; our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

“Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We

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must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in War, in Peace, Friends.

"WE, THEREFORE, the REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN GENERAL CONGRESS Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly PUBLISH and DECLARE, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are ABSOLVED from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do.

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And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, We mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honour."

Does not the breast of every American swell with pride when he thinks of the enthusiasm, the sublime inspiration, the high moral purpose, the trust in the "protection of Divine Providence," of those noble, brave, patriotic men, ready to give up their all for love of country? I doubt if we now have the high creative powers these men were capable of exercising. When one reflects that Thomas Jefferson was but thirty-three years of age when he wrote this Declaration, one feels that he was inspired. *Can you see any indication of class hatred, or any hate, in this document?* It does not mention anything about "master" or "slave." When one compares the Socialists and their aspirations, their uncertainties,

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their lack of unity, with the motives that controlled the signers of the Declaration of Independence, then it is that the hearts of many overflow with love and admiration for those who were willing to make such colossal sacrifices. And what better constitutional government can we have than ours, a constitution that has been amended but seventeen times in 125 years? Take into consideration the number of years expended in its final framing, the amendments proposed, the mentality of the men engaged in the work and the number of years it has stood the test; then read some of the Socialists' literature, in which they propose to make all sorts of changes in the Constitution. You will be able to see their great difference from the Fathers.

Our republican form of government shows the purpose of protecting *all*, the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak. A better form of government we cannot have. It is broad enough to spread its wings over all. If we

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have suffered wrongs, they can be made right and are being made right. The laws can be changed or new ones formed indirectly by our suffrage, to which all citizens are entitled. It is fatuous to say "The capitalists have control of our government." It is not wise to convey to men's minds impressions so incongruous. It is not wise to say to the manual laboring men, "You are slaves"; that demoralizes them. It is better to say, "You are men. You are in the majority; you may be masters." It is proper to remind them that although the capitalists have more property, they are in the minority. Therefore it is their own fault if they do not see to it that proper laws are placed on the statute books. You should not hate the capitalist, for that, too, is degrading—not only so, but you will get along faster if you do not. Educate yourselves; for if you do not, you will be unfit for self-government.—Say to them (if you think so): "The laws are bad, and if you are in the

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majority, your condition is the direct reflex of your responsibility." If the capitalists are in the minority, and yet make the laws (through their influence over the majority) our condition is still the indirect reflex of intelligence. If the majority (laboring men) do not make the laws (which they say are bad), paradoxical as it may seem, the laboring man is then the direct reflex of ignorance. Therefore it is not a fact, as charged by a large percentage of Socialists, that the capitalists are responsible for all the suffering and almost everything else bad in the United States, while the laboring men's condition is a reflex of their own ignorance. If the majority in number would do their duty, voting for the good of all, and were not influenced by selfish motives, or false arguments, or money considerations, or whatever causes the majority to vote as persuaded by the minority, results would be different. Whatever their motive, whether selfishness, self-love, or ignorance, it

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seems fair to say that *the blame rests at the feet of the laboring man.*

FIVE AND FIFTY

If fifty men did all the work
And gave the price to five,
And let those five make all the rules—
You'd say the fifty men were fools,
Unfit to be alive.

And if you heard complaining cries
From fifty brawny men,
Blaming the five for graft and greed,
Injustice, cruelty indeed—
What would you call them then?

Not by their own superior force
Do five on fifty live,
But by election and assent—
And privilege of government—
Powers that the fifty give.

If fifty men are really fools,
And five have all the brains,
The five must rule as now, we'll find;
But if the fifty have the mind—
Why don't they take the reins?

—Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

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There is no profit in deceiving ourselves. It should be the duty of all classes, rich or poor, to search for the facts. If the capitalists can improve the laws, they should strive to do so. If the laboring men are ignorant, and that fact is blocking their way, they should realize it and see to it that they or their children are educated. What gain is there if both stand "making faces" at each other? (I do not like that expression, but it seems to relieve my disgust.) Those in the one class who do nothing should make a great effort to lend a helping hand to make conditions different. They should give some little time to reflection; should curb their selfish dispositions; should realize their responsibility to others not so fortunate; for, if one class is more intelligent, and has received from the Great Unknown better faculties, certainly their moral responsibility is greater; and who shall say that their day of reckoning will not come?

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There is no denying the fact that money is centred at the present time more in the hands of the few than it ever was before in this country. There is no denying the fact that there is more discontent. There is no denying that this fact is due to the superior intelligence of those in whose hands the money is retained. But when the capitalists use their power to oppress, then they have become less intelligent. Bancroft has said, in his history of the United States, "A government which adopts a merely selfish policy is pronounced to be 'the foe of the human family.'" Therefore, my reader, no matter who you may be, begin at once to consider well who you are, what you are, where you are going, what you are here for, your responsibility, your self-love or selfish nature, and, above all, your loyalty to your Revolutionary forefathers, who made such great efforts to build up a country where one could say, "It is the land of the free and the home of the brave"; for only through such

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aspirations can we arrive at such a state of content as is possible on this earth of ours.

I have spoken of the intelligence of the "bourgeoisie" or capitalists. I wish to quote from the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels:

"The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarous, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, and with which it overcomes the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners for capitulation. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.

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“The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeoisie, the East on the West.

“The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralization. Independent or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments, and systems of taxation, become lumped together into one nation, with

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one government, one code of laws, one national class interest, one frontier, and one customs' tariff.

"The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?"—*Pages 13 and 14.*

This was written prior to 1848. The same state of affairs prevails in this country to-day. Please observe that the bourgeoisie "has created," etc., the things mentioned. If they did create, then are they not entitled to them? But in all socialistic literature and in lectures,

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it is claimed that "Socialism cannot contemplate confiscation of existing wealth, for the simple reason that the wealth of society to-day is the property of the working class; *they produced it*; they would be taking their own"; that capital is "surplus labor," etc., so here seems to be a contradiction. They want to "raise the proletariat (laboring men) to the position of the ruling class." If they do, then they will collectively (although there will be rich and poor even in this class) become capitalists by the confiscation of all that the capitalists have "created," which they say would be honest!

Speaking "by and large," socialistic government cannot be successful in this democratic republic. It is *semi*-democratic, for it seeks to divide the people into classes—warring factions. It is not for all the people. The laboring class also are divided in their propaganda, i.e., government by the laboring class; and Socialism needs all factions for success.

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It seeks to substitute the least intelligent in the place of the most intelligent. It seeks to stir man's baser nature by applying the title "slave" to free men. It hopes that anger may prove of more force than love. This (as stated before) is against the law of progress, and is demoralizing to the people generally.

How strange it is that men look at things in such different lights,—for I see no more chance for the success of Socialism than for the sun's destruction of this earth of ours,—while others seem to think that Socialism will surely prevail. There are in this country millions of men of high intelligence, including professional men, farmers, business men, laboring men and others, who are not Socialists. These men, I think, will require better reasons than I have been able to find to persuade them to attach themselves to the Socialist Party.

Here is what a very prominent Socialist has to say about an idea of government:

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"The Socialist, in the brilliant simile of Karl Marx, sees that a lone fiddler in his room needs no director; he can rap himself to order, with his fiddle at his shoulder, and start his dancing tune, and stop whenever he likes. But just as soon as you have an orchestra, you must also have an orchestra director—a central directing authority. If you don't, you may have a Salvation Army pow-wow; you may have a Louisiana negro breakdown; you may have an orthodox Jewish synagogue, where every man sings in whatever key he likes, but you won't have harmony—impossible!

"Our system of production is in the nature of an orchestra. No one man, no one town, no one State, can be said any longer to be independent of the others; the whole people of the United States, every individual therein, is dependent and interdependent upon all the others. The nature of the machinery of production, the subdivision of labor (which

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aids co-operation, and which co-operation fosters, and which is necessary to the plentifullness of production that civilization requires), compel a harmonious working together of all departments of labor, and hence compel the establishment of a Central Directing Authority, of an Orchestral Director, so to speak, of the orchestra of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

“Such is the State or Government that the Socialist revolution carries in its womb. To-day, production is left to Anarchy, and only Tyranny, the twin sister of Anarchy, is organized.

“Socialism, accordingly, implies organization; organization implies directing authority; and the one and the other are strict reflections of the revolutions undergone by the tools of production. Reform, on the other hand, skims the surface, and with ‘Referendums’ and similar devices limits itself to external tinkerings.”
—“*Reform or Revolution,*” by Daniel De Leon, pp. 7 and 8.

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How does this compare with the Declaration of Independence? Who would be the “orchestra director?” What a king he would be when he divided the fruits of their labor between the “fiddlers” and the other members of the orchestra!

Here is also something said about an idea, in the “Manifesto of the Communist Party”:

“In short, the Communists (Socialists) everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.

“In all these movements they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time.

“Finally they labor everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries.

“The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible

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overthrow of all existing Social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic (Socialistic) revolution. *The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win!*

“Workingmen of all countries unite!”

These Socialists propose to “construct a properly economic organization.” Now, as soon as possible, how does this “properly constructed economic organization” propose to get control of all the producing power of the land? The following dialogue was printed on November 14, 1914, in *The Weekly People*, published in New York City:

“UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN”

Brother Jonathan.—“To me it is very clear that the Socialist program will go to smash against the moral sense of the American people.”

Uncle Sam.—“Inasmuch as to which?”

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B. J.—“Inasmuch as that the moral sense of the American people will revolt against the idea of *confiscation*.”

U. S.—“Confiscation? For instance?”

B. J.—“The Socialists will, for instance, tell you point-blank that they mean to appropriate the railroads without indemnifying their owners.”

U. S.—“Suppose they did!”

B. J.—“That is confiscation, and confiscation is an immoral act! and no moral people like the American would countenance such a thing.”

U. S. (after a pause).—“What is the name of the Austrian village in which you were born?”

B. J. (nonplussed).—“Austrian village! I was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts.”

U. S.—“Oh, I mean your father; in what Austrian village was he born?”

B. J.—“My father was born in Boston, sir, near the Boston common.”

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U. S.—“So! Well, it must have been your mother. What Austrian village does she hail from?”

B. J. (very indignant).—“Do you call Lynn an ‘Austrian village?’ You know very well she was born in Lynn.”

U. S.—“Well, I mean your father’s mother or your mother’s father. In what Austrian village were they born?”

B. J. (very haughtily).—“I want you to understand that not only was I born here, and my parents, too, but all my four grand-parents, and all their grand-parents were born in this country; we are of pure Mayflower extraction, and New England stock.”

U. S.—“Then you all descend from the neighborhood where Bunker Hill Monument now stands?”

B. J.—“Exactly.”

U. S.—“Then you feel very proud about the American Revolution, do you not?”

B. J.—“Don’t YOU?”

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U. S.—“I do, assuredly. And do you think our ancestors acted immorally on that occasion?”

B. J.—“Certainly not! Do YOU?”

U. S.—“Of course not. But will you oblige me by imparting to me a certain information after which my heart now yearns?”

B. J.—“With pleasure.”

U. S.—“How much indemnity did our ancestors pay King George when they took the colonies away from him?”

B. J.—“Indemnity?”

U. S.—“Yes, my sweet preacher of morality—‘indemnity.’”

B. J.—“You are not crazy?”

U. S.—“Were not our ancestors moral?”

B. J.—“Certainly.”

U. S.—“Did not King George *own* these colonies?”

B. J.—“Yes.”

U. S.—“And were they not yanked away from him?”

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B. J.—“Certainly! And wasn’t that right?”

U. S.—“You see, I am no ‘moralist’; you are the moralist. Tell me how much ‘indemnity’ our ancestors paid King George for having yanked his property away from him? According to you, for a people to take a thing without giving the owner indemnity is immoral. King George owned the colonies; they were taken away from him; and our ancestors who did the taking were moral. It follows that they must have indemnified him.”

(B. J. remains stupefied.)

U. S.—“Hullo, there! The indemnity!”

(B. J. fidgets about.)

U. S.—“You don’t seem to hear (yelling in his ear). The indemnity! The indemnity! How much indemnity did King George get?”

B. J. (exasperated).—“None! Hang you; none!”

U. S.—“And yet our ancestors were moral?”

B. J.—“Stop—tell me how it is. I admit

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I don't quite understand it. Was it immoral on the part of our ancestors *not* to indemnify King George?"

U. S.—"No; it was not immoral. If they had, they would have been stupid. You don't indemnify the highway robber for the stolen goods you take back from him, do you?"

B. J.—"Nixy."

U. S.—"Neither does a nation. The question is simply this: Does the American people need the railroads in order to live? If they do, the railroads can be and must be appropriated, just the same as the colonies were, without indemnity. Moreover, such appropriation is eminently just. The present owners of the railroads and of all other machinery and land needed by the people never produced them. The land is nature's gift, the machinery is the product of the brain and manual labor of the working class, stolen from them by the capitalist class. To take this property

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is but to restore it to its owners. The same common sense—and morality is always on the side of common sense—that caused our ancestors to yank the colonies out of the clutches of the British Crown without indemnity will guide our people to vote themselves into power and to legislate the land and the capital back into their own hands. The immorality lies on the side of the thieves who stole the people's heritage and are now seeking to keep it."

And, from the same paper, you will see how the farmers will come out:

"C. T. W., Cleveland, O.—You desire to know 'how Socialism, under the Socialist Labor Party, is going to benefit the American farmer?' If by 'farmer' you mean the farm owner, we should say that he will benefit in the same way that the capitalist will benefit: he will have 'his' land taken away from him, the same as the capitalist will have 'his' establishment taken away from him, and be

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given a chance to go to work and enjoy the fruits of the social labor which he renders society."

Here is still another kind of Socialist—"The Truth about Socialism," page 65—Allan L. Benson.

"The Government shall immediately proceed to take over the ownership of all the trusts that control more than 40 per cent. of the business in their respective lines.

"The price to be paid for these industries shall be fixed by a commission of fifteen experts, whose duty it shall be to determine the actual cash values of the physical properties.

"Payment for the properties shall be proffered in the form of United States bonds, bearing 2 per cent. interest payable in fifty years, and a sinking fund shall be established to retire the bonds at maturity.

"In the event of the refusal of any trust-owner or owners to sell to the Government his or their properties at the price fixed by the commission of experts, the President of the

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United States is authorized to use such measures as may be necessary to gain and hold possession of the properties.

"A Bureau of Industries is hereby created within the Department of Commerce and Labor to operate all industries owned by the Government."

Here is what John Spargo says in his book on "Socialism":

"Once more I shall appeal to the authority of Marx. Engels wrote in 1894: 'We do not at all consider the indemnification of the proprietors as an impossibility, whatever may be the circumstances. How many times has not Karl Marx expressed to me the opinion that if we could buy up the whole crowd it would really be the cheapest way of relieving ourselves of them.' Not only Marx, then, in the most intimate of discussions with Engels, his bosom friend, but Engels himself, in almost his last days, refused to admit the impossi-

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bility of paying indemnity for properties socialized, 'whatever may be the circumstances.'

"Suppose the Socialists to be in power: there is a popular demand, say, for the socialization of the steel industry. The Government decides to take over the plant of the Steel Trust and all its affairs, and the support of the vast majority of its people is assured. First a valuation takes place, and then bonds, government bonds, are issued. Unlike what happens too often at the present time, the price fixed is not greatly in excess of the value the people acquire—one of the means by which the capitalists fasten their clutches on the popular throat. The Socialist spirit enters into the business. Bonds are issued to all the shareholders in strict proportion to their holdings, and so the poor widow, concerning whose interests critics of Socialism are so solicitous, gets bonds for her share. She is, therefore, even more secure than before, since it is no longer possible for unscrupulous individuals

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to plunder her by nefarious stock transactions."

After we have taken over these trusts, they are to work right along smoothly; all of the former owners are going to love their work, and stay right where they are! These trusts are not to make any profits, and in this way they are going to crush out the other 60 per cent. of independent capitalists. This, of course, means the small people and those interested in co-operation in the same line of business, whom some Socialists say they approve of saving from disaster. Talk about the Rockefeller-Morgan combination! Why, this scheme makes it look "like 30 cents."

Then, again, certain Socialists would make these changes. Returning to Allan L. Benson, "The Truth about Socialism," page 54:

"Socialists would abolish the senate, thus vesting the entire legislative power in the house of representatives. They would take from the President the power to appoint jus-

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tices of the supreme court, and give the people the right to elect all judges. They would take from the United States supreme court the usurped power to declare acts of congress unconstitutional, and give to the people the power to say what acts of congress should be set aside. They would make the constitution of the United States amendable by majority vote, and they would make every public official in the country, from President down, subject to immediate recall at any time, by the vote of the people."

This takes from the President the power to appoint justices of the supreme court. Mind you, they would not trust their own President (for they would have elected him), and would change the Constitution of the United States to suit themselves. Now, my reader, if you are a Socialist, are you sure all your comrades would agree to this? Are you sure some would not demand that no President or representative be elected?

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The same author, on page 51 of a pamphlet entitled "The Truth about Socialism," makes this frank acknowledgement: "Is it any wonder that the few who control this machinery go mad with the desire to *accumulate wealth*? Is it any wonder that they press their advantage to the limit? Are you sure you would have done less if you had been placed in their circumstances? I am not sure I should have done less. In fact, I am quite sure I should have done as much, or more, if I could."

Here is still another:

"The Socialist Labor Party says to the workingman, 'True enough, you must seek to capture the government. True enough, you must aim at the overthrow of the present government, but not as either a finality or a starter. The overthrow of the government you must aim at must be to the end of using the governmental power to perfect the revolution that must have preceded your conquest of the public powers. . . . You must

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have come to an understanding that you are the sole producers of all wealth.”—“*Reform or Revolution*,” by Daniel DeLeon.

They demand the unconditional surrender of the capitalistic system and its system of wage slavery. If they have investigated so profoundly, one would think that some sort of a *uniform* declaration might be made; so I insist that they have no plan. If it is a fact that the laboring men are largely in the majority, why has it taken so much time to perfect a socialistic society (for it is about eighty years old now, and going at the same rate it would take thousands of years more to form a socialistic majority) for the purpose of confiscating the property of—well, I say the capitalists; Socialists say “their own.”

I quote the above in order that you may compare the ideas of the Socialists of different schools. Yet the shading is so gradual one can hardly determine any dividing line.

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Neither Anarchism nor Socialism will ever be a success. One cannot define either with any degree of stability. They are as shifting sands. One cannot find many in either party who are willing to act definitely, or otherwise than in a hazy sort of way. They seem to be as a whip for the body politic. Such, I think, is their mission, and a great many will agree that the whip is needed badly; but the time is coming, and is now close at hand, when its punishment will be less severe, as then there will be less necessity for this discipline. The trades unions have also been of service in this same way, which is reflected in our Labor Laws, of which the Workmen's Compensation Law is the most important.

In late years we have placed on the statute books laws covering the following subjects:

Industrial Board,
Bureau of Inspection,
Bureau of Employment,
Factories,

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Bureau of Mediation and Arbitration,
Mercantile Establishments,
Workmen's Compensation Law.

A "Federal Trade Commission Act" was passed and in effect September 26, 1914, requiring five commissioners who were to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. This Commission was appointed for the purpose of ascertaining if there were any unfair methods of competition in commerce, and, if any were so found, they were to be declared unlawful.

I am in favor of all these laws, and any others along these lines,—such as the Minimum Wage Law, and Compensation and Pensions for the Sick and Old, within certain limits. Either these should be *federal*, or the State laws should conform with each other. Possibly they may not be wise. I would let the laboring men have, within certain limits, the chance to see if these laws are suitable to this country. They are the laws of other countries, and are being

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tried by them. Capitalists and manufacturers are not so much interested as are the consumers.

I fail to see the wisdom of the Socialist doctrine of *displacing the capitalists*,—the hundreds and thousands who have made the business in which they are interested a success by intelligent management and executive ability—the men of ideas, originators of thought, and generals of industry—by whom to be replaced I really cannot conjecture. Nor have I been able to find in the Socialist literature any hint of whom they are to be. I have read that “some men at the head are there now to stay.” Do you think men like Elbert H. Gary, Henry C. Frick, George W. Perkins, and others of the United States Steel Company would be willing to give their time under socialistic government as they do now? Other men would have to fill *their* places—probably men of less ability. In the places of these gentlemen, other executive heads, in some way

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supplied by the Government, must take charge.

The wisest course were not to disturb the body politic, but, as I said before, to confiscate the property of the rich or capitalistic class by the income tax and other taxes. I use the word "confiscate," though the Socialists do not like that word; still it is confiscation in effect, even if within the law of our country or our State. By such a law it would be possible to regulate wealth, trusts, and business generally in the most feasible way. It would not discourage personal effort, even to the extraction of the bulk of the profits of a business, and it would still retain the beneficial incentive to struggle,—for we develop best by so doing. The idea of making everything easy—the Utopian idea of life spent in sunshine with but little struggle—is degenerative.

My judgment as to the income tax is as stated, but the method of taxation now in

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vogue should be continued, with the exception of the personal property tax. This tax should be abandoned, and an income tax instituted, because the former is not enforced with equity to all concerned. The only penalty is for making an oath to a false statement. And, as the personal property of an individual is, to the assessors, largely speculative, they guess at the amount and trust to luck, so the wealthy escape, while those of moderate means are taxed. It is also a poor plan ethically.

The federal income tax is more exacting, and is surrounded by safeguards and penalties as follows:

“That if any person, corporation, joint-stock company, association, or insurance company liable to make the return or pay the tax aforesaid shall refuse or neglect to make a return at the time or times hereinbefore specified in each year, such person shall be liable to a penalty of not less than \$20 nor

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more than \$1,000. Any person or any officer of any corporation required by law to make, render, sign, or verify any return who makes any false or fraudulent return or statement with intent to defeat or evade the assessment required by this section to be made shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be fined not exceeding \$2,000 or be imprisoned not exceeding one year, or both, at the discretion of the court, with the costs of prosecution."

"When the assessment shall be made, as provided in this section, the returns, together with any corrections thereof which may have been made by the commissioner, shall be filed in the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and shall constitute public records and be open to inspection as such: Provided, That any and all such returns shall be open to inspection only upon the order of the President, under rules and regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury and approved by the President: Provided further,

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That the proper officers of any State imposing a general income tax may, upon the request of the governor thereof, have access to said returns or to an abstract thereof, showing the name and income of each such corporation, joint-stock company, association, or insurance company, at such times and in such manner as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe."

"If any of the corporations, joint-stock companies or associations, or insurance companies aforesaid, shall refuse or neglect to make a return at the time or times hereinbefore specified in each year, or shall render a false or fraudulent return, such corporation, joint-stock company or association, or insurance company shall be liable to a penalty of not exceeding \$10,000."

I am aware of the arguments used against the federal income tax, that, owing to similar taxes laid by the different States, it is double taxation, and that it reaches the earnings of

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not only real but personal property. It seems to me, however, that this tax is as just as the federal law overruling former State laws, that all male citizens shall have the suffrage, irrespective of their race or condition. And I do not agree with all that Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, or Henry George have said upon the inadvisability of taxing certain forms of wealth. Even political economy, as a science, must pass through evolutionary stages. The income tax is new in this country, though old in others, where it has been found to operate well and satisfactorily.

Most capitalists will do what they can to prevent the enactment of laws of displacement, of capital, but if they are wise they will take into consideration the fact that wealth is concentrating in fewer hands, and that if this process is continued, the rich may rightly come to be regarded as "the foes of the human family," and their power as a cause of universal popular discontent.

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The following statistics are taken from "Labor and Other Capital," by Edward Kellogg:

In Massachusetts, in 1840, there was a population of 737,700. The entire wealth of the State was \$299,880,338; 16,120 persons in the State were estimated as worth \$161,855,000, so that $2\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. of the population possessed a little more than one half the wealth of the whole State. In Boston it was said that 224 men were worth an average of \$321,781 each. To-day, seventy-five years later, it is estimated that one third of 1 per cent. of the population of the United States is worth one third of the real and personal property. This shows, taking Massachusetts in 1840 as a fair illustration (for we have not any statistics to guide us as to the wealth of the United States and the wealth of the individual in all the States in 1840), that capital and money have concentrated in that time from $2\frac{1}{8}$ per cent., owned by one half of the population, to about one third

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of 1 per cent., owned by one third. This estimate will give you an idea of the rapid concentration of wealth now taking place. (The total capital of farmers as per United States 1910 census was \$40,991,449,000, which was about one fourth of the value of the real and personal property in the United States.)

The above calculation is made on the basis that \$187,739,071,090 is the estimated value of real and personal property in the United States in 1912. One third of this would be about \$62,600,000,000; $6\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. income of this (which I figure is a fair return on this investment) would amount to about \$4,000,000,000. This corresponds to the income of 357,600 persons reporting each on an income of \$3,500 and over; 357,600 people are about one third of 1 per cent. of the 100,000,000 population of the United States.

I think our Government should take care of the unemployed. I am speaking now for all; for the rich of to-day may be the poor of

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to-morrow, or, at any rate, their children may be. If our Government can call upon us for protection in war, why can it not take care of us in times of peace? or in times of war, assist us to a living? It seems to me that the most important object has been neglected. We spend millions to protect ourselves from a foreign enemy, but not a cent for protection from this enemy within our own borders—the most destructive of all, for it is constantly in our presence. If we were taxed on income for this purpose, we might be more interested in the supply of employees.

Recently a day was set apart as "People's Donation Day," for the unemployed in a western New York city. The following is a quotation from one of the newspapers:

"This city has shared, with other cities, in the saddened home where hope has contended with the despair that unemployment, through no fault of one's own, brings to the man and the woman wage-earner.

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“They are willing to work, but there is no work for them to do. That tells the story of the posters, seen all last week and again to-day in street-car and store window. The workman stands with his little family. His hands, powerful arms and shoulders represent his years of hard toil for that family. And you may read in his face the struggle that an unexpected poverty has brought him.

“His child appeals—a school-girl, needing clothes and shoes—needing more than that—the proper nourishment for the work she is expected to do as a growing child. But her cup may not be filled again as in other days. The wife, pale, shrunken, worn, from her struggle, leans against the provider who has not before failed. In her arms is the little one to hold the home together at any cost, even in this trial. The workman himself does not ask. The appeal has been made for him.”

About \$12,000 was raised, which, if there

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were 4,000 heads of families unemployed, would amount to \$3 each! If you are not ashamed of such a lack of feeling and appreciation, I am; for, if each of the families in the city had given *fifteen cents*, they would have raised this amount. No, that is not the proper method. It is demoralizing to permit people to imagine that, by giving this paltry amount, they have squared their responsibilities to their fellow-men. The only way to accomplish any lasting good is for those in authority so to legislate that this burning disgrace may be prevented.

I am not offering any plan. That is the office of Congress. And one thing looks ominous: if our Government does not contain men of executive ability, competent to do this, how can the Socialists expect to form a government with men of executive ability to do a more stupendous thing? (One may say "afford at least another chance for corruption and graft.") If this is really so, then

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what do our Socialist friends suppose would occur if finance, manufacturing, farming, etc., were all put under government, or any other democratic control?

*The Stability
of a Republic Rests on the
Morality and Intelligence
of the Voters*

EDUCATION

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION

EDUCATION, however worn or hopeless the topic, is the star that is to guide this world to as near Utopia as possible. Plato has said, "The aim of education is to develop in the body and in the soul all the beauty and all the perfection of which they are capable." Of course, conditions at his time were different from those of to-day. Men lived a life of culture and leisure but not of luxury, and they pursued knowledge for its own sake (although Socrates did not!); but this could be the lot of only the few. We are now living in a more complex industrial age; we are more practical, but we cannot overlook (for our mental faculties are much the same) their deep philosophical insight. We have to do with vaster

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numbers of people in a democratic republic, where all should be so educated as to live wisely, but the aim of education should be much the same to-day as it was in Socrates', Plato's, and Aristotle's time. I venture to place, as the most important education of to-day, moral education—not the sentimental kind, but the noble, manly, vigorous sort of morality that means just what it says, and has the vitality to penetrate all hearts. No government can long endure without this force back of it. I need only to remind the intelligent reader of ancient and modern history of this most vital fact: that when the morals of a people become weakened by the disregard of the laws of virtue, they soon become a retrograde people.

“Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.”
—*Goldsmith.*

If we are to have better laws, they must be based on better morals, for that means more

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justice, "equality of opportunity," or "liberty," "equality," "fraternity." By teaching morals, we may discover brilliant minds. By teaching correct morals, the people will realize the joy and pleasure of doing the correct thing, and the hideousness of doing the incorrect thing. Through teaching morals, immorality would become obnoxious. Capitalists would be considered immoral if their wealth were not used for the benefit of the greatest number; and instead of it being a pleasure to collect large fortunes, it would be a curse and reproach.

Theology should not enter into moral teaching in our public schools. The systems of theology should be of individual concern, and especially so in this country, where our people are so heterogeneous.

It would seem that if we were guided by the four cardinal virtues: wisdom, justice, courage, and temperance, and could frame a code of morals so simple and direct that it would fit

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the natures of almost all our people, it could be made practical and of service instead of a gymnastic for philosophers and other thinkers. The best philosophers have agreed that virtue is essential to happiness. You will admit that this means a great deal, and presents a foundation to build upon. We should have learned that fortune has little to do with real pleasure—that the pleasure and pain of the mind mean more than the gratification of the body. This does not refer to the educated mind (as we think of it), but does mean that we must so educate the mind that wisdom shall control or gain a victory over the temptations of life—such as pride, vainglory, anger, gluttony, unchastity, and envy.

You will notice a great deal said in the addresses of our Presidents and governors of the morals of our people—urging that this unrest comes from “moral decadence”; and yet not a serious step is taken, other than in behalf of temperance, to improve the morals of the

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children in public schools at the period of the child's life that is most receptive. A code of morals should be formulated that would fit the child of from eight to twelve years of age, and also one for those from twelve to sixteen. These codes of morals should be formulated by educators of the highest intelligence and experience.

Next of importance is the public school course up to the age of fourteen years. Next in order should come the industrial schools—trade schools, schools for agriculture, mechanic arts and home-keeping—part-time or continuation schools, and evening vocational schools. The child should begin at the age of from eight to ten, and spend, say, from thirty minutes to one hour each day at industrial training through all the public school period. The children desiring to continue should be able to do so in the industrial high schools. At the age mentioned, they are able to handle the ordinary tools without danger. At this

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time both the boys and girls are at the *impressionable* age. They can learn quickly. At the same time, it diversifies their time, so that other studies will not be such a drudgery. I understand the figures of the National Board of Education to show that of the boys that are in the public schools at eight, not over one in twelve ever enters the high school, and that the majority of the boys in the United States have received all their education by the time they are twelve years of age; this is due to the necessity of earning their own bread or that of their families; also to the fact that the schools are made so unattractive to the children that they prefer to go to work.

The competition for foreign trade makes it necessary to educate our youth in these arts of industrial life, which must be supplied with workers having both general and technical training.

Next of importance in the public school course is civil government. The highly or-

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ganized educational systems of France and Prussia (as representing Germany) are manifestly suitable for the purpose of a general study of the principles of educational polity (civil government) as worked out upon logical and consistent plans. I think civil government should be taught to boys as early in life as possible, say, to the younger scholars, by an election carried on by the boys for the designation of city, State, and United States officials, with an explanation of what each office signifies. The various offices could be made attractive by emblems of different design for the boys to wear. They could formally address each other as President, Senator, Governor, Mayor, etc. I advise this, for the reason that so few of our young men seem to have any idea of how our government is operated. In a democratic republic where we expect all to have a vote in the management of the government, we should see to it that our children are familiar with the details of

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its administration. It may seem to belittle its importance to make play of such a serious thing, but I can only say that what one learns at from eight to fourteen he seldom forgets. I learned how to telegraph at the age of twelve by playing with other boys on a telegraph line, and to this day, although that was a great many years ago, I can "send" and "receive" messages about as rapidly as I could then.

There should be developed in a child a just pride of his being a little man or little woman. Children should be taught to love to be clean inside and out; they should be taught to observe these things for their own good, and to realize that to do otherwise is unwise.

Instruction regarding the nature of alcoholic drinks, narcotics, and their effects on the human system is now compulsory in our State. Not less than three lessons a week for ten weeks must be given. "In normal schools, teachers' training classes, and teachers' insti-

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tutes adequate time and attention shall be given to the method of teaching this branch, and no teacher shall be licensed who has not passed a satisfactory examination on the subject and the best method of teaching it." You will observe that instruction is thus given in temperance. This is one of the four cardinal virtues. Why not go a little farther and teach the other three—wisdom, justice, and courage?—certainly of as much importance. Does it not seem strange that we should have taken up the last of these four, i. e., temperance, without any design, apparently? But, on the other hand, it is the logical starting-point, for next is courage; next justice, and, finally, wisdom.

The order in which I think education should follow is: Moral, general, industrial, and civic, all of which should be taught to the children as stated, at not less than eight years, up to fourteen years of age, the impressionable period.

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I take this opportunity to congratulate those having charge of our educational system of the State of New York on the decrease of 45 per cent. in illiteracy from 1900 to 1910. That is something one should be proud of; and the money spent to do this was well spent.

When we contemplate the wickedness and degradation in our State (and other States), and know that these are largely due to the lack of self-control and higher ideals, and that we can reach such faults by the early education of our children, by imparting to them a knowledge of themselves; when one calls to mind the centring of wealth in the hands of the few, the extravagance of our age, the unrest and socialistic tendency of our people, the increase of divorce cases, the fact that, as J. D. Buck, M. D., says in "Soul and Sex," "80 per cent. of blindness in children is due to diseased parents," one then reflects on what our duty is. Surely something is wrong somewhere, for

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we cannot build reform schools, workhouses, and asylums fast enough to supply the need.

“New York State’s penal population is increasing at double the ratio of its entire population. Figures compiled from the new census show this somewhat surprising and disconcerting fact.

“According to the official figures the population of all the penal institutions in the State, including the State prisons, reformatories, and penitentiaries and the penal institutions of New York City, is shown to have increased about 30 per cent. in the past five years, rising from 13,315 to 17,352.

“During the same time the population of the State has increased about 15 per cent., advancing from 9,113,654 in 1910 to between 10,250,000 and 10,500,000 in 1915.

“In the New York city institutions the increase is a trifle more than 41 per cent., in the penitentiaries about 36 per cent., and in the State prisons just under 12 per cent., while

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the reformatories show an increase of between 12 and 13 per cent."

And this is our boasted civilization!

We are all going to school. Our school is the world, and our teacher is Experience. It is impossible to procure a more competent instructor. *The best society is a democratic republic.* It is utilitarian, "a government of the people by the people for the people." When one contemplates the truth,—that implanted in every one is a desire for justice, a general desire for peace, a dislike for war, admiration for the generous, a dislike of selfishness, pride, ostentation, anger, gluttony, and uncleanness; when we know that envy will pull us down rather than build us up,—it seems strange that we have been unable to change society to any considerable extent. At least, we think the process very dilatory. We differ a great deal in our methods of bringing about "the brotherhood of man." This is the reason why there are so many

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forms of education; why so many societies are brought to life; and why we have so many philanthropies.

Let us recall some of these philanthropies and societies. According to the Statistics of the United States Census, they include the following:

For the sick	2,492
For care of children	1,435
Home for adults and children	1,151
Societies for protection of children	205
For blind and deaf	125
<hr/>	
	5,408

In 4,815 of these institutions 2,960,000 persons were received; 4,281 reported an income of \$118,380,000; and 3,871 show property value of \$643,878,000.

Outside of the above, there are church and private philanthropic work and great numbers of societies, with over 15,000,000 members, such as Masons, Odd Fellows, Modern Woodmen, Knights of Pythias, Red Men, Elks,

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Eagles, Knights of Columbus, Royal Arcanum, Maccabees and various others, who expend from \$90,000,000 to \$100,000,000 annually (see the "World Almanac," 1915, page 563).

All our educational, philanthropic, and social institutions have not yet brought about a satisfactory state of affairs. We have still the poor, the unemployed, and the discontented.

While I am not likely to be tested, and while I certainly would not care to be singular in the test, I think I could freely surrender my fortune to the management of an approved body of *wise* legislators—men obviously and ostensibly of high ideals and right living, and competent and sagacious in worldly affairs, and so affording the assurance that my family and dependents would be secure in the enjoyment, or at least in the possession, of the comforts of "the simple life." I believe that under such a régime the race would be better contented than it is to-day; the ambition and the

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strain, now so exacting for even a moderate success, could find expression in the uplift of society, in the development of our talents, and in the enjoyment of the approval of our fellowmen; but human nature must be regenerated socially. This will adjust economics.

I submit that such a life would be higher and worthier, for both me and mine, than is the selfish accumulation of a wealth the possession of which usually involves the deprivation of others, and inures only to the social prestige and ungenerous exaltation of our own family position. Even though, under the wheel of Fortune, wealth is often transitory from the hands for which its producer intended it, the transition often leaves a trail of suffering and moral decadence, the heritage of a weak-minded and even imbecile posterity.

I do not regard this as a plea for Socialism —the doctrines of which I have endeavored to refute—but rather as the ideal of a pure

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democracy, a name older than Socialism, even in America. Its propaganda need not be destructive, but rather remedial. Men do not amputate a limb for a merely local disorder, but rather cure and harmonize it in the bodily health. We do not need new parties nor party names. Men are impatient; they expect from agitation in one brief era results which nature requires centuries to produce. There are two great parties, the Republican and the Democratic, either of which is competent, as an organization, for any purpose of practical reform. Especially we have no need, merely for the novelty of a "Socialistic" slogan, to raise a new standard of opposition —a thing specially gratifying to capitalists as such, for they well know that a house divided against itself is foredoomed to fall.

Democracy, rightly understood, is synonymous with Progress, and acquaintance with history assures an infinite faith in it. We may prophesy, with a degree of rational certainty,

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that kingdoms and empires will vanish, and that Democracy will live and flourish throughout the world.

As at Frankfort, in 1848, the German Confederation was on the verge of declaring in favor of a republic, and Hungary was up in arms, so it seems possible that these countries may each make declaration in favor of a republic after this present war.

A better state of affairs is sure to come on this earth. Its prospect is not altogether visionary, sentimental, or æsthetic, but reflects good, hard, practical common sense. We have the forecast of it in our natures now, but seek to hide it through false pride; yet there is surely a day coming when it will be a delight for one to permit his own inner self to come to the surface, and then we shall have more temperance, more courage, more justice, and more wisdom. Do not think, my reader, that this will come without struggle. It will take our best efforts, our most vigorous man-

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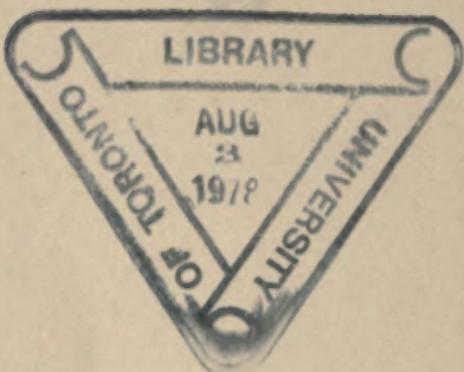
hood and womanhood, but in these will be our joy. Do not think society will ever become Utopia. Do not be extravagant in your expectations. We shall always attest human frailty, but things will be better, and the degree of melioration will depend upon the individual character of the people.

*The Stability
of a Republic Rests on the
Morality and Intelligence
of the Voters*

THE END



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